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HANDBOOK OF LITURGIES



A
POPULAR HANDBOOK
ON THE
ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND STRUCTURE OF
LITURGIES

BY

J.^o COMPER

RECTOR OF ST MARGARET'S, ABERDEEN; CHAPLAIN TO THE SISTERHOOD OF
ST MARGARET, ABERDEEN; AUTHOR OF "THE DISTINCTIVE TEACHING
OF THE BRITISH CHURCHES," "THE RESTORATION OF THE OFFICE
OF METROPOLITAN IN THE SCOTTISH CHURCH," ETC.

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BY
J. ^{ph.}COMPER
RECTOR OF ST MARGARET'S, ABERDEEN; AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE
BISHOP OF ABERDEEN AND ORKNEY

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P R E F A C E.

THIS small work is an attempt to present the study of Liturgies in a popular form. It has been compiled from the authors whose names and works are given, and has no pretensions to literary research. Written amid the interruptions and distractions of incessant parochial and other duties, the writer is aware that, on a subject so complicated, many inaccuracies may be found. He will gladly receive criticism and corrections. The sole object of the work is to extend the knowledge of Liturgies. His thanks are due to Canon MacLean for looking over MSS. on the East Syrian Liturgy, and for his valuable information. His thanks are also tendered to Mr Hammond for the kind loan of liturgical pamphlets not otherwise accessible. He hopes to deal with the Western Liturgies in a second Part.

October 1, 1891.

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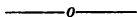
CORRIGENDA.

Page 54, fourth line from top, *for* *Fragmenta Liturgica* *read* *Excerpta Liturgica*.

Page 90, third line from the top, *for* 491 *read* 451.

Page 117, eleventh line from the top, *for* *Clestiphon* *read* *Ctestiphon*

HANDBOOK OF LITURGIES.



INTRODUCTION.

THE object of these pages is to give, in a popular form, some account of Liturgies, in their origin, structure, ritual usages, and varieties. The word "liturgy," properly taken, designates the performance of a public function or service. Pelliccia, in his *Polity of the Christian Church*, translated and edited by Rev. H. C. Bellett, tells us that "a Leitourgos" was a person of property chosen by the people of Athens to perform some public duty, or to supply the necessities of the State, at his own expense; and any such service was called a Liturgy. S. Paul calls heathen magistrates, or collectors of tribute, Leitourgoi. He applies the same designation to Epaphroditus, when referring to his ministrations to the Apostle's temporal necessities. The word is, however, in the New Testament, most commonly used to denote ecclesiastical ministrations, both of the Aaronic priesthood and of the Christian. It is said of Zacharias, that "when the days of his ministration (*leitourgías*) were accomplished, he returned to his own house." S. Paul, referring to the Jewish priests, describes them as each "standing and ministering

- (*λειτουργῶν*), and offering the same sacrifices which can never take away sin." The same word is applied to christian priests. Our Lord Himself is designated as "a Minister (*λειτουργός*) of the Sanctuary and of the true Tabernacle." Angels also are spoken of as *λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα*, "ministering spirits." S. Paul styles himself a *λειτουργὸς* of Jesus Christ, ministering (*i.e.* in sacrifice, *ἱεουργῶντα*), the Gospel of God, that the offering up (or sacrifice, *προσφορά*), of the Gentiles might be acceptable. The same word is used by S. Luke to express the ministrations of the prophets and teachers at Antioch.

b. viii. 2.
b. i. 14.
m. xv. 16.
te xiii. 2.
d. i. p. 152.

Rénaudot, in his collection of Eastern Liturgies affirms that "by the name of Liturgy are understood offices or ritual books written, and their use sanctioned, by the public authority of the Churches, in which are contained prayers and rites for the consecration and administration of the Eucharist." He adds: "According to this definition the name Liturgy should not be given to the offices of all Sacraments, as of baptism, chrism, and others, which, nevertheless, it is the custom of some, and especially of Protestants to do, for no other reason, I think, but because it pleases themselves; and certainly without any ancient precedent, to call their sacred (and common) prayers the Liturgy. The ritual books of prayer which pertain to the celebration of the Eucharist are called by the Greeks, from whom this name has been received, *λειτουργίαι*, and in this sense only are known among them, the celebrated Liturgies of James, Basil, and Chrysostom." In this sense, and in this sense only, the word "liturgy" will be used in the following pages.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF LITURGIES.

FOR the origin of Liturgies we must go back to the accounts given us of the worship of God in the earliest ages. We have seen that the name is a sacrificial word, as being the name given to the prayers and rites which accompanied the offering of sacrifices. Sacrifice has been well defined as the offering of some material thing to God, in order to obtain fellowship and communion with Him. It is of Divine appointment, and as such it has been used from the most remote times as the main and essential part of divine worship. We read in the early pages of the Bible that Cain and Abel "offered sacrifices unto the Lord." These offerings were of two kinds, one of the fruits of the earth, the other of the firstlings of the flock. These two first recorded sacrifices bring before us the two kinds of offerings which God has always required of His worshippers, each distinct in kind, yet the one in close relation to the other. The terms by which these two classes of offerings are usually designated are, "bloody" and "unbloody." The first, the slain victim, implied the confession of guilt, and the acknowledgment that death is its just punishment; as it is written, "the wages of sin is death." Gen. iv. 3-5
Rom. v. 23.

», xl. 4.

Moreover, the faith of the worshippers was thus directed to the one great central and atoning Sacrifice, to which all these other sacrifices had a typical relation, and from which they derived whatever blessing they, as channels, conveyed to the faithful worshipper. The other kind of offering, viz., the inanimate victim, offered without shedding of blood and without pain, was symbolical of the perpetual memorial, or the commemorative offering, of Jesus Christ, once slain ever living, both on the golden altar in heaven, and in the most holy Eucharist on earth. S. Paul tells us that it was by faith "Abel offered a better sacrifice than Cain." We may gather from these words that Abel offered his lamb as a confession of personal guilt, and of faith in the Lamb of God, who in due time should take away the sins of the world; whereas Cain's sacrifice of the fruits of the earth was an ignoring of these truths, and may have been the continuation of the same kind of sacrifice which Adam had offered before the Fall.

nm., vol. i. p.

From this first recorded sacrifice we pass on, and find in the sacred pages of Holy Scripture and the unwritten pages of tradition, a continuous record of sacrificial worship. We read in the same chapter which records the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, that "to Seth was born a son; and he called his name Enos: then began men to call upon the name of the Lord." These words are taken by Cornelius á Lapide, and others, to mean that public assemblies were instituted for solemn worship, of which sacrifice would form a principal part. The passage would seem to suggest that the worship of God had been neglected, probably through the influence and example of the godless race

of Cain, and was now restored with solemnity by the pious Enos.

Noah's first act on his safe exodus from the Ark, after the subsidence of the Flood, was to offer sacrifice. "Noah builded an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet savour." In the brief account which we possess of the period which intervened between the Flood and the call of Moses, we learn that Abraham and Isaac and Jacob repeatedly offered the sacrifice of living creatures; that they consecrated to the Lord the places in which He appeared to them; that they raised pillars and solemnly dedicated them, anointing them with oil.

Suddenly, in the midst of this record of animal sacrifices, we find Melchisedec, a priest and king, exercising his priestly office by the offering of bread and wine, and blessing the patriarch Abraham. The writer of the CX. Psalm, many centuries after, points to Melchisedec as a special type of Christ in His priesthood. Our Lord claims that Psalm as prophetic of Himself. Melchisedec flits across the pages of history as a mysterious personage, coming one knows not whence and suddenly disappearing; "without beginning of days or end of life," so far as the inspired narrative informs us. In this particular also he represents Him who is the "Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end;" while in his offering we have a type of the priesthood of Jesus Christ as exercised in the Holy Eucharist. In the ancient Liturgies there is distinct reference to Melchisedec's offering as typical of the Holy Eucharist.

We pass on now from the patriarchal period to that of Moses. The first instance of sacrificial worship which we meet with in this period, and one which had taken place previous, in time, to the promulgation of the law from Mount Sinai, is the Paschal Feast. S. Paul identifies in a mystical sense the paschal lamb with "Christ our Passover." In this solemnity we find not only the sacrifice of a living creature, but we have also the circumstance of the worshippers feeding on the victim, together with unleavened bread and wine. We discern here, in a figure, the Lamb of God as slain on the cross, and also both the commemorative offering of the Eucharist and the feeding thereon by the faithful, under the forms of bread and wine. The escape of the first born of Israel from the death which overtook the first born of Egypt, and the deliverance of this people from the bondage of Pharaoh, signified the believing and penitent soul sprinkled sacramentally with the precious blood, and thereby freed from the servitude of sin and Satan.

1 Cor. v. 7.

I will now briefly consider the elaborate and minute ritual concerning the sacrificial worship which Moses received from God on Mount Sinai. We will take the three most prominent kinds of sacrifice—1, The daily burnt offering; 2, the sin offering; 3, the peace offering.

The Burnt offering consisted of a lamb, which was offered morning and evening on the brazen altar in the outer court, before the door of the Tabernacle. There was offered, together with it, a meal offering of fine flour with oil, and a drink offering of wine. The former was named the immolation, the latter the mactation.

Archdeacon Freeman, in his *Principles of Divine Service*, remarks:—

Vol. II. pt. II.
pp. 75, 76.

“It is much to be observed, as an unfailing feature of Gentile sacrifice, when properly performed, that animals were never offered alone, but always with an accompaniment of flour and wine. Not only so. The victim, though itself the efficacious element of sacrifice, was offered *by means of bread and wine*. The bread was broken and sprinkled on the head of the victim while alive, and again wine, with frankincense, was poured between its horns. This done, the sacrifice was conceived to be duly offered, so far as concerned the gift and dedication of it on man’s part, and acceptance of it by the Deity. This is proved by the fact that *immolare*, to sprinkle with the broken mola or cake, was used, as is well known, to express the *entire action* of sacrifice, the slaying and the burning included. So again, *mactare*—to enrich or crown with the addition of wine (*mauctus* = *magis auctus*)—was likewise used for the whole action.”

The Rev. E. J. Willis, in his excellent and instructive book, *The Worship of the Old Covenant*, observes :

Chap. viii. sec.

“In the burnt offering the atoning element of sacrifice fell into the background, though not wholly absent. There is no special manipulation of the blood as in the sin offering; all centres in the consumption of the sacrifice upon the altar, which was specially the altar of burnt offering. The burnt offering was then peculiarly the offering of worship. Not for the sake of relief from the sense of guilt, not in impetration of some looked for mercy, nor even as an act of thanksgiving for mercies received, was the burnt sacrifice offered to God, but simply as an act of adoration, ‘for His great glory.’ It was offered as a symbol of the offerer’s own dedication of himself to God, the offering of himself, his soul and body, as not his own but God’s, and to be restored, as due, to the great Giver.”

It lay burning day and night on the altar. Its fumes mingled with the fragrance of the incense

John xvii. 19.

de Sulzer's
thesaurus, vol.
pp. 54, 55.

ascending from the golden altar which, in the Holy Place, stood immediately before the veil, seething through it into the Holy of Holies. The burnt offering, considered in its relation to the Eucharist, represents the entire surrender of the Divine Victim, Jesus Christ, to the eternal Father. "For their sakes I sanctify or consecrate (αγιαῶ) Myself." These words were uttered by our Lord at His first Eucharist, and they express, in a formal manner, the free personal surrender of Himself as a sacrifice for human sin, to the glory and praise of God the Father. As in the old sacrifices, the solemn immolation of the bread or meal offerings, and the mactation, *i.e.*, the wine offering, was really the presentation of the victim, though not yet slain; so our Lord, on the night before His death, offered Himself to God the Father under the form of bread and wine. Again, as all Israel was offered or presented before God in the burnt offering, so in the Holy Eucharist there is, combined with the offering of the Body of Christ in inseparable relation to the person of our Lord, the offering of the mystical body, *i.e.*, the whole Church, as in the great Intercession. It is thus seen that the Holy Eucharist is the highest act of praise and thanksgiving, and we therein present ourselves, our souls and bodies, as a living sacrifice. So complete is the analogy between the type and the antitype.

The Sin Offering.—The specialty of this kind of sacrifice was the shedding and sprinkling of the blood. There were two kinds of sin offering—(1) of the priest or congregation; (2) of individuals. In the first kind of offering the blood was taken into the sanctuary and sprinkled with the finger on the horns of the golden altar,

i.e., the altar of incense, by the priest, and also sprinkled seven times before the veil. In the case of the individual or private offering, the blood was not taken into the tabernacle, but was sprinkled on the horns of the brazen altar, which stood in the outer courts. In the more solemn offering, the flesh of the victim was consumed by fire "without the camp." In the other or individual case, it was eaten by the priest in the Holy Place. The sin was thus (symbolically) transferred to the priest, who was "ordained to bear the iniquities of the people." Moreover, the sin offering, with some special exceptions, consisted of one animal only; and in these special exceptions the offering, though consisting of several animals, was regarded as one.

The sins for which the sin offering was available were ceremonial transgressions, or sins of ignorance or surprise, such as we should call venial sins. For deliberate or wilful sins against the moral law, there was no power in the Mosaic dispensation to cover or pardon. The inexorable sentence against such sins was—"that soul shall be cut off from Israel." So impossible was it for the blood of bulls and goats to atone for moral transgressions.

The *Trespass offering* was closely allied to the sin offering. Every trespass offering was a sin offering, but the converse was not so. The sin offering was an atonement and expiation for sin; the trespass offering was for making amends. It was offered where wrong had been done or fraud committed, and loss sustained. It required not only the restoration of what had been taken away or defrauded, but also that a gift should be added thereto. How clearly all these particulars point

to and describe the one Sacrifice which taketh away sin, the one Victim slain, the "one Sacrifice for ever," to which nothing can be added: "I have trodden the winepress alone!" The victim of the sin offering was burnt without the camp. The inspired comment on this is: "wherefore Jesus, that He might sanctify the people, suffered without the gate." The Jewish priest in figure bore the sins of the people. He, in very truth, "hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows," for "the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquities of us all." His death is not only an expiation satisfying the Divine justice in atoning for sins; it is also an overflowing satisfaction and reparation. Moreover, by His perfect obedience in all things He hath more than paid the debts incurred through our disobedience; so that "He hath magnified the law, and made it honourable" in such degree that "where sin abounded grace hath much more abounded." This is the "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction," and the true trespass offering, which, by way of memorial, is pleaded before God in the most holy Eucharist.

The *Peace offerings* come next for consideration. These were of three kinds—(1) of praise and thanksgiving; (2) offerings in fulfilment of a vow made when in trouble; (3) freewill offerings. The peace offering was the most complete of all sacrifices, in that it partook of the nature of the other two. Mr Willis, in his book already referred to, has these remarks:—

"It may be observed that the peace offering summed up in itself all the three kinds of sacrifice, since it partook of the nature of the other two. It was akin to the sin offering through the sprinkling of the blood, and to the burnt offering

by having some of its choicest parts laid and consumed on the altar of burnt offering. And thus partaking of the nature of the three kinds of sacrifice, the peace offering was peculiarly adapted to represent the Christian Eucharist, of which it was a special type."

The portion which was burnt was called "The food of the offering made by fire unto the Lord," so that, Lev. III. 11 as it has been well said, "the offerer, the priest, and God fed together." Compare these particulars with the Eucharistic Offering. This is, in a sense, an "offering made by fire," since it is through the Holy Ghost (so often compared to fire) that the offering is made. Take the words in the epiclesis of the Scottish Liturgy, "bless and sanctify, with Thy Word and Holy Spirit, these Thy gifts;" and afterwards follows the participation by priest and people. This was even more strikingly portrayed in the older Liturgies, which directed the consecrated bread to be broken in three parts: one of which was dropped into the chalice ("the bread of God"), another portion was received by the priest, the third and largest portion was distributed See Willis, 1 note. to the people present, and reserved for the sick or others not able to be present at the christian assembly.

There was another significant ceremony which accompanied the peace offering and that was the wave or heave offering. The waving was a movement backward and forward; the heaving was a movement up and down. This ritual act is explained as significant of God's universal dominion and presence. In correspondence to this there was, in the earlier Liturgies of the Catholic Church, the ceremony of elevating slightly the consecrated host. In the earliest Liturgies there was also

the solemn exclamation, "the holy things are lifted up to the holy places," and these words were accompanied with elevation. In the Roman Missal (the canon of which is as old as S. Gregory) we have these words: "We humbly entreat Thee, Almighty God, command that these (*i.e.*, the consecrated gifts) be borne or carried up by the hands of Thy holy Angel on to Thy heavenly altar, in the presence of Thy Divine Majesty" I quote the following remarks of Archdeacon Freeman on this action.

*ol. II., Introduction, p. 175.

"There is one striking action more especially, anciently common, as it should seem, to all Liturgies, though it has now disappeared from some, and is probably misconceived in all, which tends to invest the reception with a very awful character, and to explain still further the reverence here expressed. It is the elevation already referred to. The elements, one or both, were *lifted up* towards heaven with mysterious words, desiring that they might be received up to God's heavenly and spiritual altar. These words, used generally in the East, we find also in one Western Office, the Spanish."

As the heaving or elevation has been perpetuated in some Liturgies, so also has the waving or movement from side to side, as, for instance, in that of Sarum, together with that of Hereford and Arbutnot. The words of the Sarum rubric are—

"Here the Deacon gives the paten to the Priest, kisses his hand, and the Priest kisses the paten; afterwards he places it to the left eye then to the right; afterwards he makes the cross with the paten above his head, and then puts it back in its place."

I will conclude this portion of our subject by a few remarks on the shewbread and the use of incense as a liturgical feature of the old covenant. The literal

meaning of the former is the *bread of the face*. Mr Willis says:—

“Another name for it is the bread of ordering, because of its being arranged *in order* upon the table. From its being laid continually before the Lord, it is also called the ‘continual or perpetual bread.’”

The shewbread consisted of twelve loaves or cakes of flour, supplied at the charge of the people. The loaves were arranged in two rows, of six in each, corresponding to the number of the tribes of Israel. Upon each frankincense was placed, and, according to the Septuagint, salt also. On each Sabbath day the loaves were taken away, and eaten by the priests in the Holy Place, and fresh ones put in their stead. The frankincense was burnt, probably upon the altar of burnt-offering, for a “memorial,” and, in this sense, the loaves were offered to God as a memorial, *i.e.*, of the twelve tribes. This particular of the Aaronic offerings has passed on, changed and glorified, into the Christian Church. Archdeacon Freeman has well explained how this is:—

See Willis, p. 16.

Vol. ii. pp. 189, 190.

“The shewbread, carrying in it the whole body of the nation, was (*a*) offered or given acceptably to God by the High Priest, or his sons, through the application of it (with due memorial reference to the great national sacrifice) of the frankincense and the sacred fire; and then (*b*) partaken of by them as most holy, and as making them such.

“Bearing in mind, then, the divinely guaranteed parallel between the old and the new system, we see that it sets forth to us (*a*) the *Church in Christ* as a royal priesthood, *giving herself* acceptably to God in bread and wine; the identification of these with the Body and Blood, being effected by the application to them (with due memorial reference to Christ’s sacrifice) of His priestly intercession,

and of the sanctifying fire of the Spirit. And then, inasmuch as the same things were, in the Mosaic rite, received back from God for purposes of sanctification, and of all covenanted blessings, it sets forth to us the Church *receiving the same gifts back again*, as the Body and Blood of Christ, mysteriously identified therewith by the same media, viz., the touch of incense and of fire as before, and obtaining, by participation in them, full sanctification and communion through Christ with God."

see Freeman, note
on p. 190.

Curatori Liturgia
Romana Vetus,
vol. i. p. 303.

This is that wonderful commerce, or exchange of things earthly and heavenly, so frequently set forth in the ancient Liturgies, especially in the Eastern prayer before reception, and the Western *secretæ* or prayer of oblation. Thus we have in the Liturgies of SS. James and Chrysostom, and others—"That our God, having received them unto His heavenly altar, for the savour of a spiritual sweet smell, would send down in return (*ἀντικαταπέμψῃ*) the gifts of the Holy Ghost." The *secretæ* in the Leonine Sacramentary has these words: "Exercising a glorious commerce, we offer the things which Thou hast given; that we may be found worthy to receive Thyself." And again, "We joyfully offer on Thine altars, O Lord, earthly gifts, that we may receive heavenly. We give things temporal, that we may obtain things eternal."

Near to the table of the shewbread in the Holy Place was the altar of incense, which burnt perpetually day and night. Incense was used by the divine command. It had a special symbolical meaning, as typical of prayer, and carried with it in a manner the power and virtue of the sacrifice it accompanied. It formed a very important and solemn part of the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement. On that occasion the high priest

was bidden to "take a censer full of burning coals from off the altar before the Lord, and his hands full of sweet incense beaten small, and bring it within the veil; and to put the incense upon the fire before the Lord, that the cloud of incense may cover the mercy-seat that is upon the testimony, *that he die not.*" And even when used apart from sacrifice, we find an atoning efficacy attributed to it; as when Aaron took a censer from the altar and put fire thereon, and put Num. xvi. 48. on incense, and made an atonement for the people, smitten with the plague. "He stood between the living and the dead, and the plague was stayed."

Outram, as quoted by Mr Willis, well says:

"As the Jewish high priest was a shadowy image of Jesus Christ, our High Priest, and the inner sanctuary of the temple a figure of heaven itself, and so also the sacred incense which used to be burnt both in the Holy and Most Holy Place, represented the prayers of the Church; for this reason, as the name of the thing signified is frequently given to the sign (and it would be otherwise unaccountable), those sacred odours are called the prayers of the saints. Hence it is that the prayers of the saints are said to be 'offered upon the golden altar,' that being the altar from which the sacred incense, which was the symbol of those prayers, ascended to God. Hence it is that David compares his prayers to that very incense, as a thing signified with its sign. For the same reason it was that the Jewish people offered up their prayers in the court, while the high priest was presenting the sacred incense, the symbol of those prayers, to God in the Temple, by which rite he symbolically offered to Him those prayers which were at the same instant ascending from the people. Wherefore, as the Jewish high priest typified Christ, as the Most Holy Place was a figure of the highest heavens, and the sacred incense was emblematical of the prayers of the saints, the conclusion is

unavoidable that the Jewish high priest, burning this sacred incense before God in the inner sanctuary, prefigured our High Priest now in heaven commending to God the prayers of the Church."

Before proceeding to investigate the liturgical features discoverable in the New Testament, I would quote the following words given by Mr Willis on the typical character of the Old Testament sacrifices :

- p. 174. "Thus did they three times a year at least, at their great festivals, and at other times of their own voluntary will, make solemn and thankful remembrance before God of the one original Passover sacrifice of a lamb by which they had been redeemed unto God, and plead, in the most prevailing manner, the virtue and the power of it; unite themselves afresh to the great continual offering; lay themselves, in a mysterious but wonderfully real manner, upon the altar for dedication and acceptance, and receive from the altar, through the one priest and sacrifice, all the blessings of the covenant. It is impossible that anything should more accurately copy and foreshow the means by which, under the christian dispensation, men were to make remembrance of, and plead in the most prevailing way, the once offered but continually presented sacrifice of Christ; unite themselves afresh to it; lay themselves, in a mystery, on the heavenly altar for dedication and acceptance, and receive from that altar, through the one priest and the one sacrifice, all the gifts and blessings of the new and perfect covenant."

CHAPTER II.

LITURGICAL FEATURES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE sacrifices of the Mosaic economy, with their attendant rites, continued in use until Christ came, and were frequented by Him and His apostles up to the time of His death. But when His death was accomplished and His redemptive sacrifice thereby completed, the miraculous rending of the veil of the Temple declared that these symbolic sacrifices were now to give place to the "better things," of which they themselves were only figures. The one all-atoning Sacrifice having been once offered, these sacrifices, which were its shadows, and which of themselves could never take away sin, ceased to be offered; and the perpetual memorial of that one Sacrifice took their place. As soon as the Holy Ghost had descended on the apostles at the first Christian Pentecost, giving them power and wisdom to found and organise the Christian Church, and the Church had sprung into existence in the persons of the three thousand who were then baptized, we read that "they continued Acts ii. 42. in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of the bread, and in the prayers." "The breaking of bread," in the New Testament, signifies the Holy

Eucharist, and was the daily practice of the Church in Jerusalem. It is certain, moreover, that whenever the Christians of that period "came together" in a synaxis, or assembly for worship, it was for the celebration of the Eucharist—in other words, "the breaking of bread." Our Lord's command, "Do this in remembrance of Me," was accepted by the Church as of universal obligation, so that we find in all places, where organised churches existed, assemblies for this purpose were held always on every Lord's Day in many places more frequently, and in some daily. There is no reason to suppose that the practice of the Church at Troas to assemble on the first day of the week for the "breaking of bread" was peculiar, or a local custom. On the contrary, it must be taken as an instance of a universal use. When S. Paul rebukes the Corinthian christians for certain disorders in their assemblies, he assumes that these assemblies were held for this same purpose. He does so in these words, "When ye come together in the Church," or "When ye come together into one place." He clearly refers to the Eucharistic synaxis, while he reproves them for their irreverences and disorders on such occasions. It is in reference to the disorders at these assemblies that he says, "This is not to eat the Lord's Supper," as if he would say, "the way in which you come together and your manner of proceeding in these assemblies, is not worthy of, or consistent with, the celebration of the Lord's Supper." Having charged them to be more reverent in their attendance at the Divine mysteries, and more considerate for their poorer brethren, he adds, "the rest will I set in order

1st xx. 7.

Cor. xi 18, 20.

2nd xi. 34.

when I come." We may infer from these words a promise that he would set in order, arrange, or construct the Eucharistic Service, *i.e.*, the Liturgy, when he should next visit them. That these Eucharistic assemblies were the common centres of Christian worship and fellowship is further manifest in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the same writer (as I believe it to be) exhorts the Hebrew christians not to "forsake the assembling of themselves together." Heb. x. 25. The whole context shows that he is referring to the Eucharistic synaxes. In both these Epistles the same apostle places side by side the Christian altar and the Jewish and heathen altars. In the one place he says, "We have an altar whereof they Heb. xiii. 10. have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle." In the other: "But I say the things which the Gentiles 1 Cor. x. 20, 2 sacrifice; they sacrifice to devils (or demons), and not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils; ye cannot drink of the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and the table of devils." These words plainly show that the worship which the apostle taught and practised was no less sacrificial than the Jewish or the heathen.

I will now endeavour to trace the references to the apostolic Liturgy which are embedded in the New Testament. Seeing that the Holy Eucharist was celebrated daily in many places; in others, three or four times a-week; and everywhere on the Lord's Day; it may be assumed that the order and the words used in the service would necessarily be familiar to the faithful, and would naturally be referred to by the apostolic

writers. Now, if we find in these writings words, sentences, or ritual acts which are identical with those found in the ancient Liturgies, or those referred to by sub-apostolic writers in their description of the church services of their time, I contend that we may reasonably infer that these formed parts of the Liturgy or Liturgies used by the apostles.

I will adduce some of these.

1. The Fraction. We have seen that the whole Eucharistic action is described as "the breaking of bread;" that our Lord "brake bread," and S. Paul speaks of the Eucharist as "the bread which we break." This is a feature found in all Liturgies.

2. The Lections. These consist of readings from (a) the Prophets, (b) the Epistles, (c) the holy Gospels. It was manifestly the intention of S. Paul that his Epistles should be read in the assemblies of the faithful. To the Colossians he writes: "When this epistle is read among you (*i.e.*, at the synaxis), cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans." He charges the Thessalonians "that this epistle be read to all the holy brethren." This could be done only in their liturgical assemblies. The Gospels also were doubtless in like manner read as soon as they were written. Eusebius tells us that the recital of "the actions of the Saviour written by S. Mark was approved by S. Peter to be read in the churches." Perhaps S. Paul makes allusion to the same practice when he refers to S. Luke, the faithful companion in his apostolic journeys, as a brother whose "praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches;" as if he would say whose praise is celebrated or made known in all churches by

the reading of the Gospel which he wrote. We shall presently see that a christian writer of the second century speaks of the "Prophets" as supplying a portion of the liturgical lections; and we know they were read in the Jewish synagogue.

3. The salutation "Dominus vobiscum," or "The Lord be with you," is another feature in all Liturgies. This was used by S. Paul to the Thessalonians. It may be ^{2 Thess. iii. 16.} considered a solemn prayer to our Lord to fulfil His ^{S. Matt. xxviii. 20.} promise, "Lo, I am with you alway." It was a common ^{Ruth ii. 4.} salutation among the Jews, as we find Boaz using it to his reapers.

4. The Pax, or benediction of peace. This is our Lord's special Easter benediction, and is given by S. Paul to the Philippians: "The peace of God which ^{Phil. iv. 7.} passeth all understanding shall keep your hearts, through Jesus Christ." This has place in all the old Liturgies.

5. The ritual act expressive of mutual love, the "osculum pacis," or kiss of peace. This is distinctly mentioned in no less than five places in the Apostolical Epistles; and no ancient Liturgy is without it.

6. The song of the Angels, known as the "triumphal hymn" in Eastern Liturgies, and as the "tersanctus" in the Western. "Isaiah, under the ancient law, heard this Divine song at the foot of the throne of Jehovah; in the new, the prophet of Patmos has repeated it, as he heard it resound from the altar of the Lamb. This song of love and adoration, revealed to men on earth, must find its echo in the Christian Church. All Liturgies contained it; and one may feel assured that the holy Sacrifice has never been offered without it."

Gueranger's Institutions Liturgiques, vol. i. p. 42.

7. The Apostolic Benediction,—“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost,” &c.,—formed the commencement of the anaphora or canon of the Eastern Liturgies.

8. The Great Intercession formed a prominent part of the ancient Liturgies, and is enjoined by S. Paul: “I exhort, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, and intercessions be made for all men.” On this passage S. Augustine has the following remarks:—

Epp. cxlii., as
quoted by Guer-
anger.

“I consider that it is necessary to understand these words to refer to those which the whole, or nearly the whole, Church makes use of. Supplications (*precationes*) I think are those which in the celebration of the mysteries are addressed to God before we even commence to bless that which is upon the holy Table; the prayers (*orationes*) that which is said when one blesses and sanctifies what one breaks in order to distribute, and this part is concluded by the dominical prayer in almost all the whole Church; intercessions (*interpellationes*), or, as our codices have it, postulations, are made when the people are blessed. For then the bishops, in their character as advocates, present their clients to the All-merciful Goodness. At length, when all is finished, and one has participated in so great a sacrament, thanksgiving concludes the whole.”

9. “The Prayer of the Veil” was another prevalent liturgical prayer, and there is strong evidence that S. Paul is referring to this prayer when he says, “Having boldness to enter into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way, which he has consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, His flesh.” It was a prayer of profound humility, and was placed at the commencement of the anaphora or canon.

Heb. x. 19, 20.

10. The liturgical use of the “Amen” is referred to by S. Paul, when, adverting to the worship of the

Christian assemblies, he says: "how shall he that occupieth the place of the unlearned (or layman) say amen at thy giving of thanks?" *i.e.*, at the benediction or consecration of the Eucharist. Justin Martyr, in the next century, tells us that at this place, "when the President or Bishop has finished his prayer and thanksgiving, or Eucharist, all the people with an acclamation say, Amen." 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

11. A collection of alms.—This was made at the synaxis in the Apostolical and early Church. S. Paul exhorts the Corinthians that "on the first day of the week they should lay by in store, as God had prospered them," for which he says "he had given orders unto the Churches of Galatia." I think we cannot be mistaken in taking this collection to be the same as the money-offering made in the church assemblies. We have seen that, on the first day of the week, the Christians everywhere came together to break bread; and Justin Martyr informs us that in those "assemblies all who are well-to-do and willing, give what each thinks fit, and that what is collected is deposited with the President." 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.

12. The Sermon or Exhortation also found a place in the earliest Liturgies. S. Paul's instruction to S. Timothy and S. Titus as to doctrine or teaching must be held to refer to exhortations given in the Liturgical synaxis; and Justin Martyr speaks of an address by the President. This followed the reading of the Gospel. 1 Tim. iv. 13. Titus II. 7.

13. The Consecration.—This act consisted of (a) the recitation of the words used by our Lord in the institution, and (b) the benediction, as "when He gave thanks" over each element. S. Paul names the

Cor. x. 16. Eucharist as the "bread which we break and the cup which we bless." Justin Martyr describes the consecration and communion in these words: "the President offers prayers and thanksgiving, and those who are called deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine, mixed with water, over which the benediction was pronounced." The following words of S. Paul, "every creature of God is good . . . if it be received with thanksgiving (*μετὰ εὐχαριστίας*), for it is sanctified by the word of God and by prayers," are considered by liturgical scholars (as Dr Neale and Le Brun) to have final reference to the Eucharist.

13. The Gloria in Excelsis, as sung by the angels at the nativity of Christ, is found in the earliest Liturgies. In later times it was considerably extended, and assumed more than one form.

Colos. iii. 16. 14. Psalms and hymns. "Admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." On these words S. Chrysostom remarks, "The faithful know what is the hymn of the spirits above, what the cherubims above say, what the angels said, Glory be to God on high," meaning, Bingham observes, "that those two hymns were sung by the faithful in the Communion Service." Psalms are found in the most ancient Liturgies.

15. A Place set apart.—In reading the Acts of the Apostles we are familiar with the "upper room." S. Paul, in his Epistles, implies a place set apart for the Christian assemblies, as in these words, "when ye come together in the church," or "when ye come together into one place." We may reasonably infer that these were places set apart for purposes of worship, after the manner of Jacob's pillar, the altars of the

Cor. xi. 20,
iv. 23.

patriarchs, as well as the Tabernacle and Temple. We may trace the main order and arrangements of the earliest churches, which were known as Basilicas; and between them and the vision of the heavenly Temple, as given by S. John in the Apocalypse, we shall find a striking resemblance. These Basilicas were oblong in shape, like a ship. In the middle, towards the east, was the bishop's throne, considerably elevated, "high and lifted up;" and on either side, on a lower level, were twelve seats for the presbyters, who were therefore said to possess the "second throne." In front was placed the altar, and near the altar stood the deacons and other ministers, assisting the bishop. Incense was used, and lamps were burnt on or before the altar. Compare with this the description of the heavenly Temple and its worship, given in the Apocalypse; S. John's description is briefly this: a throne was set in heaven; before the throne a golden altar; in the midst of the throne a lamb as it had been slain; round about the throne four-and-twenty seats, and upon the seats four-and-twenty elders clothed in white raiment; much incense was offered by an angel, and together with it the prayers of the saints, of which the incense was a symbol. There are also round about the throne the four living creatures, who are represented as bowing down before it, and veiling their faces as they sing the Thrice Holy. There were also seven lamps of fire before the throne. This correspondence of the structure and arrangements of the earthly, with what the apostle has revealed of the heavenly, Temple is very significant, and manifests the desire of the apostolic and primitive Church to fashion, as far as possible, her worship and sanctuaries after the "pattern shown in the mount."

CHAPTER III.

SOME ACCOUNT OF LITURGICAL SERVICES AS GIVEN IN EARLY WRITERS.

I WILL now endeavour to verify these liturgical references which I have brought forward from the New Testament by some accounts of the Eucharistic Service taken from early writers and the most ancient Liturgies.

see Fleury's Eccl.
1st., vol. i.
109.

Pliny the Younger, who, in the second century had been appointed Pro-consul of Bithynia, reporting to the Emperor Trajan concerning the Christians, declared that, having examined many of them, he found the chief of their faults or errors was that they were "accustomed to meet before daylight on a certain day, and that they sang alternately or antiphonally (*secum invicem*) a hymn to Christ as God, and bound themselves together not to commit any crime, &c., and that they afterwards partook of a repast."

This brief reference to the worship of the early Church, by the heathen pro-consul, is amplified by a christian writer, Justin Martyr.

This writer flourished about 140 A.D., and might have been acquainted with the latest apostles. Certainly he must have seen and conversed with those who knew them well.

I now give his well-known description of the celebration of the Eucharist. I quote Reeves' translation as given in "Ancient and Modern Library."

"After the believer is baptized, and thus incorporated ^{1 Apol.} or made one with us, we lead him to the congregation of ^{Chapp. lxxi} the brethren, as we call them, and then with great fervency ^{lxxxviii.} pour out our souls in common prayer, both for ourselves, the person, baptized, and for all others all the world over. . . . Prayers being over, we salute each other with a kiss. After this bread and a cup of wine and water are brought to the President (or bishop), which he takes, and offers up praise and glory to the Father of all things, through the name of His Son and the Holy Ghost; and this thanksgiving to God, for vouchsafing us worthy of these His creatures is a prayer of more than ordinary length. When the bishop has finished the prayers and thanksgiving service, all the people present conclude with an audible voice, saying, Amen. Now Amen in the Hebrew is 'So it be.' The Eucharistical office being thus performed by the bishop, and concluded with the acclamations of all the people, those we call deacons distribute to every one present, that they may partake of the Eucharistic bread and wine and water, and then they carry it to those absent. This food we call the Eucharist, of which none are allowed to partake but such only as are true believers, and have been baptized in the laver of regeneration for remission of sins, and live according to Christ's precepts; for we do not take this as common bread or common wine; but as Jesus Christ our Saviour was made flesh by the Logos of God, and had real flesh and blood for our salvation, so we are taught that the food which the very same Logos blessed by prayer and thanksgiving, is turned into the nourishment and substance of our flesh and blood, and is, in some sense, the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus. For the apostles, in their commentaries, called the Gospels, have left this commandment upon record, that Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, He said, Do this in remembrance of me, for this is My Body; and in like manner He took the cup, and

when He had given thanks, He said, This is My Blood, and delivered it to them. . . . After the sacrament is over we remind each other of his duty, and the rich relieve the poor. And in every Eucharistical sacrifice we bless the Maker of all things through His Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Spirit.

“And upon the day called Sunday all that live either in city or country meet together at the same place, where the writings of the apostles and prophets are read, as much as time will allow. When the reader has done, the bishop makes a sermon, wherein he instructs the people, and animates them to the practice of these good things.

“At the conclusion of this discourse we all rise together and pray; and prayers being over, as I now said, there is bread and wine and water offered, and the bishop sends up prayers and thanksgiving with all the fervency he is able, and the people conclude all with the joyful acclamation of Amen. Then the consecrated elements are distributed to and partaken of by all that are present, and sent to the absent by the hands of the deacon.”

In another place, while disclaiming for Christians the heathen use of sacrifices of blood, libations, &c., he says:—

“We praise Him as we have been taught by the word of praise and Eucharist.”

The same writer, in his dialogue with Trypho, a Jew, says:—

“The offering of fine flour which was prescribed to be presented on behalf of those purified from leprosy is a type of the bread of the Eucharist.” He also quotes the words of the Prophet Malachi, ‘From the rising up of the sun unto the going down thereof my name has been glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a pure offering.’ He then speaks of those Gentiles, viz., us, who in every place offer sacrifices to Him, *i.e.*, the bread of the Eucharist, and also the cup of the Eucharist.”

S. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, martyred at Rome A.D. 107, affirms that the faithful assemble to offer the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ; and heretics separate themselves from the prayers and Eucharist because they do not believe the Eucharist to be the Body and Blood of Christ, immolated for our sins and afterwards risen again. "Gather yourselves together, therefore, to partake of the one and the same Eucharist, for there is only one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one chalice of the union of His Blood, one only altar, one only bishop, with the priests and deacons, who are often called the ministers of the mysteries." See Granello p. 129.

The author next in date to be quoted is S. Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp, Bishop of Lyons, from A.D. 177, to the end of the century. In his *Treatise against heresies* he has these words:— Irenæus, bk. chap. cxviii. 4.

"It behoves us to make an oblation to God, and in all things to be found grateful to God our Maker, in a pure mind, and in faith without hypocrisy, in well founded hope and in fervent love, offering the first-fruits of His Own created things; and the Church alone offers this pure oblation to the Creator."

In the next section he says:—

Sect. 5.

"We offer to Him His own, announcing consistently the fellowship and unity of flesh and spirit. For as the bread which is from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, earthly and heavenly, so our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, but have now the hope of the resurrection. . . . Now we offer to Him, not as though He needed anything, but rendering thanks for His gifts, and thus sanctifying what has been created." Bk. v. chap.

Sect. 3.

Again—

“When, therefore, the mixed chalice and the created bread receive the Word of God, and the Eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ is made, from which the substance of our flesh is increased and supported, how can they affirm that the flesh is incapable of receiving the gift of God which is life eternal, which (flesh) is nourished from the Body and Blood of the Lord, and is a member of Him.”

The same writer, in one of the fragments of his writings, observes :—

“Those who have become acquainted with the secondary constitutions of the Apostles, are aware that the Lord instituted a new oblation in the new covenant, according to Malachi the prophet. For, ‘From the rising up of the sun even to the setting, My name has been glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered to My name, and a pure sacrifice;’ as S. John also declares in the Apocalypse, ‘the incense is the prayers of the Saints.’ Then, again, S. Paul exhorts, ‘Let us offer the sacrifice of praise,’ *i.e.*, the fruit of our lips. ‘Now, those oblations are not according to the law, the handwriting of which the Lord took away from the midst by cancelling it; but they are according to the spirit; for we must worship God in spirit and in truth.’ And, therefore, the oblation of the Eucharist is not a carnal one but a spiritual; and in this respect it is pure. For we make an oblation to God of the bread and the cup of blessing, giving Him thanks in that He has commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our nourishment. And then when we *have perfected the oblation*, we *invoke* the Holy Spirit that He may exhibit (or render) this sacrifice, both the bread, the body of Christ, and the cup, the blood of Christ, in order that the receivers of these antitypes may obtain remission of sins and life eternal.”

In another place we have these words :—

“He, *i.e.*, Christ, acknowledges the cup which is a part of creation to be His own blood, from which He irrigates

our blood ; and the bread, also a part of creation, He ordained as His body from which to give increase to our bodies."

Again :—

"Just as a vine-cutting fructifies in season, after planting ; or, as corn falling into the earth rises with manifold increase, so they (*i.e.*, the gifts), by the Spirit of God, having received the Word of God, become the Eucharist, which is the body and blood of Christ ; and so also our bodies nourished by it, after having been laid in the ground, rise again at their appointed season, the Word of God granting them immortality."

Let us now turn to Tertullian, who flourished at the end of the second century. Speaking of the Eucharistic assemblies, he says :—

"We pray not only for ourselves, but also for emperors ^{Apol. chap. xxxix.} and their ministers ; for the powers that be ; for the public tranquility ; and ask God that He will not judge our persecutors. We assemble ourselves also to read the Divine Scriptures, that which relates to different times, and to exhort and direct the faithful."

He goes on to relate that the "the prayer (*i.e.*, the canon) ^{See Grancolas, p. 260.} being finished, the Communion is given, which one receives at the hands of the ministers, who are described as men advanced in years ; of well-attested life who preside over our assemblies ; which, however, they obtain, not by purchase, but the suffrage and good report of the faithful." He speaks of voluntary offerings for the poor, sick, shipwrecked, and captives. He makes reference to the reservation of the blessed Sacrament for private communion in these words : "Ye who have a pagan husband, how will you be able to ^{Ad Uxorem, bk. ii. chap. 5.} conceal that which you take secretly before all food ? And if he discovers it, will he not believe it is only common bread, and not that which Christians say it is ?"

He also refers to the symbolic washing of hands ^{See Grancolas, *in loco*.} at the Eucharist, known as the Lavabo. He makes mention of chalices having the engraving or picture

of the Good Shepherd, bearing in His arms the recovered sheep. He speaks of churches as places set apart, simple in their structure, with apertures for light, and to represent the Holy Ghost, the true Light; and that they turned to the east to honour Jesus Christ, who is the Sun "enlightening the faithful." He terms the Consecration as "the invocation of Christ," "the Divine Benediction," and "the Sacrament of Benediction." He says of the Eucharist—"It is celebrated every common day by consecration." He tells us that the priests prayed with arms extended in imitation of Christ on the cross. He makes mention of the Lord's Prayer as coming after "the ordinary or prescribed prayer," *i.e.*, the canon. We find also the reading of the Epistles and Gospels; and mention made of the dead at the Holy Sacrifice. His words are—"We celebrate every year oblations for the dead." He is probably referring to the anniversary commemorations of the martyrs. Mention is also made of celebrations at marriages. "How shall I describe the excellence of the marriage which the Church joins, which the oblation confirms, which the Father ratifies in heaven?" He refers to a place in the church severed off from the faithful, and complains that sometimes they are mixed up with the heathen, meaning the unbaptized. This is a distinct reference to the separation which had taken place in the Christian assemblies between the faithful (or the baptized) and the catechumens. Complaining of the irregularity of the ordinations of heretics, he mentions the three Divine orders of the ministry: "And so it comes to

Ad Exor., bk. II.
c. 8.

pass that to-day one man is their bishop, to-morrow another; to-day he is a deacon who to-morrow is a reader; to-day he is a presbyter who to-morrow is a layman."

S. Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage about the middle of the third century, refers in these words to Melchisedec's offering as a type of the Holy Eucharist: "For who is more a priest of the Most High God than our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered a sacrifice to God the Father, and offered that very same thing which Melchisedec had offered—that is, bread and wine—to wit, His Body and Blood." Again, he speaks of the same as "the figure of Christ's sacrifice, viz., as ordained in bread and wine; which thing the Lord completing and fulfilling, ordered bread and the cup mixed with wine, and so He Who is the fulness of truth fulfilled the truth of the image prefigured." In the next section of the same letter, after quoting the words in the Book of Proverbs, there are these words: "He declares the wine mingled, that is, He foretells with prophetic voice the cup of the Lord mingled with water and wine, that it may appear that that was done in our Lord's Passion which had been before predicted." He gives directions about the com-
Ep. lxii. in Ante-Nicene Lib.
 memoration of martyrs in these words: "Take note of their days on which they depart, that we may celebrate their commemoration among the memorials of the martyrs." He makes repeated mention of the mingled cup: "How shall we drink the new wine of the fruit
Ep. xxxvi.
 of the vine with Christ in the kingdom of His Father, if in the sacrifice of God the Father, and of Christ, we do not offer wine, nor mix the cup of the Lord, by the Lord's own tradition."
Ep. lxi.

A little further on, in the same letter, the great Archbishop and martyr gives us a mystical signification of this mingling. The words are:—

“For that Christ bore us all, in that He also bore our sins, we see that in the water is understood the people, but in the wine is shewed the Blood of Christ. But when the water is mingled in the cup with wine, the people is made one with Christ, and the assembly of believers is associated and conjoined with Him on Whom it believes; which association and conjunction of water and wine is so mingled in the Lord’s cup, that that mixture cannot be any more separated. . . . Thus, therefore, in consecrating the cup of the Lord, water alone cannot be offered, even as wine alone cannot be offered. For if any one offer wine only, the Blood of Christ is dissociated from us; but if water be alone, the people are dissociated from Christ; but when both are mingled, and are joined with one another by a close union, there is completed a spiritual and heavenly sacrament.”

Ep. xxxlii.

De Orat. Dom.
h. 18.

In respect to the Liturgical service, he speaks of a high and elevated tribunal from which the Gospel was read. In his treatise on the Lord’s Prayer, and in respect of the fourth petition, he has these words:—

“And we ask that this bread should be given to us daily, that we who are in Christ, and daily receive the Eucharist for the food of salvation, may not, by the interposition of some heinous sin . . . be separated from Christ’s Body.”

And again:—

“Therefore, we ask that our Bread—that is, Christ—may be given to us daily, that we who abide and live in Christ may not depart from His sanctification and Body.”

h. xxxi.

He refers to the *Sursum Corda* as a preface to the Consecration Prayer:—

“For this reason the priest, by way of preface before his

prayer, prepares the hearts of his brethren by saying, 'Lift up your hearts,' that so, upon the people's response, 'We lift them up unto the Lord,' he may be reminded that he himself should think of nothing but the Lord."

S. Ephrem, a Syrian solitary in the fourth century, has these words:—

"The priesthood boldly soars from earth to heaven See Scudamore, beseeching mercy and pardon from the merciful King, that the Spirit, being invoked, may descend and hallow the gifts that are set forth on earth." Notitia Eucharistica, p. 576.

Optatus, Bishop of Milevi, A.D. 368, writing against the Donatists, says:—

"What so sacrilegious as to break the altars of God, those altars which have borne the offerings of the people and the members of Jesus Christ, upon which Almighty God has been invoked, upon which the Holy Ghost has descended, where the faithful have received the pledges of eternal salvation? For what is an altar if it is not the place where the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ reposes?" See Le Brun, vol. iii. p. 247.

S. Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea in the fourth century, Ibid. speaks of the words of Invocation in the Liturgy as being among the things not recorded in the New Testament, but handed down by tradition. He says: "When the bread of the Eucharist and the cup of blessing is made, or shown to be," &c. The Greek word is *ἀναδείξειν*. The same word is used in the Liturgy which bears his name.

S. Basil also informs us of the custom of the faithful to communicate themselves, when they had no Bishop or other minister to give it them, with the Blessed Sacrament which they had borne from the Church, See Grancolas, pp. 173, 174.

after the celebration. This was especially the case with the solitaries of the desert, who had no priest to give them the Eucharist.

Æ Brun, vol. III.
p. 248.

S. Gregory of Nyssa, brother of S. Basil, has this remark :—

“This bread, in like manner as the apostle speaks, being sanctified by the Word of God and by prayer (not that it passes now into the Body of the Word of God, by means of eating, but because it is transformed and changed as the Word hath said by these words, ‘This is My Body’) the Lord makes us sharers in these Divine gifts when He changes and transforms the nature of the visible species into His Body by virtue of His sacred benediction.”

on Celsum,
p. 5.

Origen shall be our next witness. He was a celebrated and very learned priest of the Church of Alexandria, and died about 250. I quote these words :—

“Let us endeavour to please the Creator, offering to Him with prayer and thanksgiving, for all the benefits He hath done to us ; let us eat the breads offered in sacrifice, which by prayer are made the Body of the Lord.”

See Græcolas,
p. 111.

And in another place :—

“When you receive this holy and incorruptible food, when you receive this bread of life, you eat and drink the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, then God dwells in your heart. Humble yourselves, and say with the centurion, ‘I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof.’”

He also makes remark on how much care one ought to take lest the least morsel of consecrated bread should fall to the earth, and that one would be guilty of a very great fault if such were to fall through negligence.

He declares the shewbread to be a type of the Eucharist in these words :— In Levit. Hom.,
xiii.

“The shewbreads were nothing in themselves, but had their end and fulfilment in the Eucharist. What atoning virtue could reside in these loaves? But if from them you turn your eyes to the great mystery, you will see that this was a memorial possessed of a mighty and atoning efficacy. When you consider that bread which came down from heaven and gave life to the world; that Shewbread which God has set forth for reconciliation through faith in His blood; and then when you reflect on that Memorial of which the Lord said, ‘Do this in remembrance of Me,’ then you will find that this is the sole memorial which reconciles God with man. If, then, you will attentively consider the mysteries of the Church, you will see that what the Law ordered was the prefiguring of the future reality.”

He refers to the kiss of peace in these words :—

“The imitation of the Apostles has introduced into the Churches the usage which the brethren have of giving to each other the kiss of peace when the prayer (*i.e.*, the canon) has reached its end.”

In his commentary on S. Matthew he applies to the consecration of the bread those words which we have cited from S. Paul’s Epistle to S. Timothy, “It is sanctified by the Word of God and by prayer.” And in another place he does not fail to say, though with some reserve as to the most holy mysteries, when speaking to an unbeliever, that the breads offered are made by the prayer a holy and sanctifying body :—

“We, who study to please the Creator of all things by thanksgiving with prayers for benefits received, eat the offered breads, made by the prayers a holy and sanctifying body.”

We turn now to the Apostolical Constitutions, a work many parts of which belong to the third century, and none are later than the sixth. We find therein the following particulars of the liturgical worship of the period, and also a description of the structure and arrangements of the church, or basilica, to which reference has been already made. We have the three Lections, viz., from the Old Testament, the Acts, or the Epistles of the Apostles, and the Gospels. Prayer towards the East is prescribed, and the reason given, viz., that Christ ascended to heaven by the East, and that the ancient paradise was situated in the East; the kiss of peace is ordered—"Then let the men give the men, and the women the women the Lord's kiss;" the hymns of David are directed to be sung; the deacons are to attend to the oblation of the Eucharist, "ministering to the Lord's body with fear;" the words "Hosanna to the Son of David, blessed be He who cometh in the name of the Lord," are given as a part of the Liturgy; and lastly, the blessing of Moses is directed to be pronounced by the High Priest. The words are in full as follows:—

Apostolical Con-
stitutions. Book
sec. lviii.
d Book VIII.

But be thou, O Bishop, holy, unblameable, not striker, not soon angry, not cruel; but a builder up, a converter, apt to teach, forbearing of evil, of a gentle mind, meek, long-suffering, ready to exhort, ready to comfort, as a man of God.

When thou callest an assembly of the Church, as one that is the commander of a great ship, appoint the assemblies to be made with all possible skill, charging the deacons, as mariners, to prepare places for the brethren, as for passengers, with all due care and decency. And first, let the building be long, with its head to the east, with its

vestries on both sides at the east end, and so it will be like a ship. In the middle let the Bishop's throne be placed, and on each side of him let the Presbytery sit down; and let the deacons stand near at hand, in close and small girt garments, for they are like the mariners and managers of a ship: with regard to these, let the laity sit on the other side, with all quietness and good order. And let the women sit by themselves, they also keeping silence. In the middle let the reader stand upon some high place: let him read the books of Moses, of Joshua the son of Nun, of the Judges, and of the Kings, and of the Chronicles, and those written after the return from the captivity; and besides these, the books of Job and of Solomon, and of the sixteen prophets. But when there have been two lessons severally read, let some other person sing the hymns of David, and let the people join at the conclusions of the verses. Afterwards let our Acts be read, and the Epistles of Paul our fellow-worker, which he sent to the Churches under the conduct of the Holy Spirit; and afterwards let a deacon or a presbyter read the gospels, both those which S. Matthew and John have delivered to you, and those which the fellow-workers of Paul received and left to you, Luke and Mark. And while the Gospel is read, let all the presbyters and deacons, and all the people, stand up in great silence; for it is written: "Be silent and hear, O Israel." And *Deut. xxvii. 9.* again: "But do thou stand there and hear." In the next *Deut. v. 31.* place, let the presbyters, one by one, not all together, exhort the people, and the Bishop in the last place as being the commander. Let the porters stand at the entries of the men and observe them. Let the deaconesses also stand at those of the women like ship-men. For the same description and pattern was both in the Tabernacle of the testimony and in the Temple of God. But if any one be found sitting out of his place, let him be rebuked by the deacon, as a manager of the foreship, and be removed into the place proper for him; for the Church is not only like a ship, but also like a sheep-fold. For as the shepherds place all the brute creatures distinctly, I mean goats and sheep according to their kind and age, and still every one runs together, like to his

like ; so is it to be in the Church. Let the young persons sit by themselves, if there be a place for them ; if not, let them stand upright. But let those that are already stricken in years sit in order. For the children which stand, let their fathers and mothers take them to them. Let the younger women also sit by themselves, if there be a place for them ; if there be not, let them stand behind the women. Let these women which are married and have children be placed by themselves, but let the virgins, and the widows, and the elder women, stand or sit before all the rest ; and let the deacon be the disposer of the places, that every one of those that comes in may go to his proper place, and may not sit at the entrance. In like manner, let the deacon oversee the people, that nobody may whisper, nor slumber, nor laugh, nor nod ; for all ought in the church to stand wisely, and soberly, and attentively, having their attention fixed upon the word of the Lord. After this, let all rise up with one consent, and, looking towards the east, after the catechumens and penitents are gone out, pray to God eastward, who ascended up to the heaven of heavens to the east ; remembering also the ancient situation of Paradise in the east, from whence the first man, when he had yielded to the persuasion of the serpent and disobeyed the command of God, was expelled. As to the deacons, after the prayer is over, let some of them attend upon the oblation of the Eucharist, ministering the Lord's body with fear. Let others of them watch the multitude and keep them silent. But let that deacon who is at the high priest's hand say to the people, Let no one have any quarrel against another ; let no one come in hypocrisy. Then let the men give the men and the women give the women the Lord's kiss. But let no one do it with deceit, as Judas betrayed the Lord with a kiss. After this let the deacon pray for the whole Church, for the whole world, and the several parts of it, and the fruits of it, for the priests and the rulers, for the high priest and the king, and the peace of the universe. After this let the high priest pray for peace upon the people, and bless them, as Moses commanded the priests to bless the people in these words : "The

Lord bless thee and keep thee : the Lord make His face to shine upon thee and give thee peace." Let the bishop pray for the people, and say : "Save thy people, O Lord, and bless Thine inheritance, which Thou hast obtained with the precious blood of Thy Christ, and hast called a royal priesthood, and an holy nation." After this let the sacrifice follow, the people standing and praying silently ; and when the oblation has been made, let every rank by itself partake of the Lord's Body and precious Blood in order, and approach with reverence and holy fear, as to the body of their king. Let the women approach with their heads covered, as is becoming the order of women ; but let the door be watched, lest any unbeliever, or one not yet initiated, come in.

Be ye always thankful, as faithful and honest servants ; and concerning the eucharistical thanksgiving, say thus : We thank Thee, our Father, for that life which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus Thy Son, by Whom Thou madest all things, and takest care of the whole world ; Whom Thou hast sent to become man for our salvation ; Whom Thou hast permitted to suffer and to die ; Whom Thou hast raised up, and been pleased to glorify, and hast set Him down on Thy right hand ; by Whom Thou hast promised us the resurrection of the dead. Do Thou, O Lord Almighty, everlasting God, so gather together Thy Church from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom, as this [corn] was once scattered, and is now become one loaf. We also, our Father, thank Thee for the precious Blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us, and for His precious Body, whereof we celebrate this representation, as Himself appointed us, "to show forth His death." For through Him glory is to be given to Thee for ever. Amen. Let no one eat of these things that is not initiated ; but those only who have been baptized into the death of the Lord. But if any one that is not initiated conceal himself, and partake of the same, "he eats eternal damnation," because, being not of the faith of Christ, he has partaken of such things as it is not lawful for him to partake of, to his own punishment. But if any one is a partaker through

Pa. xxviii. 9.

Acts. xx. 28.

1 S. Pet. i. 19 ;

ii. 9.

Book VII.

Sec. 25.

1 Cor. xi. 26.

ignorance, instruct him quickly, and initiate him, that he may not go out and despise you.

sec. xxvi.

After the participation give thanks in this manner: We thank Thee, O God and Father of Jesus our Saviour, for Thy holy name, which Thou hast made to inhabit among us; and that knowledge, faith, love, and immortality which Thou hast given us through Thy Son Jesus. Thou, O Almighty Lord, the God of the universe, hast created the world, and the things that are therein, by Him; and hast planted a law in our souls, and beforehand didst prepare things for the convenience of men. O God of our holy and blameless fathers, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, Thy faithful servants; Thou, O God, Who art powerful, faithful, and true, and without deceit in Thy promises; Who didst send upon earth Jesus Thy Christ to live with men, as a man, when He was God the Word and man, to take away error by the roots: do Thou even now, through Him, be mindful of this Thy holy Church, which Thou hast purchased with the precious Blood of Thy Christ, and deliver it from all evil, and perfect it in Thy love and Thy truth, and gather us all together into Thy Kingdom which Thou hast prepared. Let this Thy Kingdom come. "Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord"—God the Lord Who was manifested to us in the flesh. If any one be holy, let him draw near: but if any one be not such, let him become such by repentance. Permit also to your presbyters to give thanks."

The next witness shall be S. Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem in the fourth century, as given in his well-known and very important Catechetical Lectures, which were delivered in Jerusalem in the Churches of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Holy Cross. From this circumstance, we infer that the Liturgy which he quotes, and on which he comments, was the Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, viz., S. James. We have the following Liturgical references in these lectures:—

I. *The Lavabo*.—He says :—Lect. xxlii. in
Libr. of the
Fathers.

“You have seen the deacon give the waters to the bishop and the priests. This was in no wise for the cleansing of the flesh ; for we are not accustomed to enter the Church in such a state that we have need of this. But the washing of the hands signifieth to us that we ought to be cleansed from all our sins, since the hands signify actions. Have we not understood the blessed David explaining this mystery, saying, ‘I will wash my hands in innocency,’ &c. To wash the hands, therefore, has no other significance than to purify us from the stains of sin.”

II. *The Osculum Pacis*.—His words are :—

“The deacon afterwards says, ‘Embrace one another, and give one another the kiss of peace.’ Do not think that this is a kiss such as we give to ordinary friends when they meet. Our kiss is a sign of perfect reconciliation of hearts, and of forgetfulness of all injuries, according to the words of Jesus Christ : ‘If thou bringest thy gift to the altar,’ &c. The kiss is given as a sign of reconciliation and unity ; and for this reason is called by SS. Peter and Paul the kiss of charity.”

III. *The Sursum Corda* :—

“The bishop says with a loud voice, ‘Lift up your hearts,’ and it is chiefly at this awful moment that it behoves us to lift up our hearts to God, and not to abase them towards things of earth. The bishop, by these words, orders all who stand by to banish from their minds all thoughts of the world, and all cares about their domestic affairs, that their hearts may be in heaven, in the presence of God, who gives this sign of His love for them. You reply, ‘We lift them up to the Lord,’ and you thus protest that you do that which the bishop demands ; he adds, ‘Let us give thanks unto the Lord ;’ and we ought in truth to render thanks for that, being so unworthy as we are of a gift so great and unprecedented, He vouchsafes to make us

partakers of the same, so that, from being enemies to Him, He has reconciled us to Himself, and given to us the spirit of adoption. You reply, 'It is meet and right so to do.'"

IV. *The Ter-Sanctus; or, Triumphal Hymn.*—After which follows a rehearsal of the work of creation. His words are :—

"We afterwards make mention of heaven and earth, the sea, the sun and the moon; of the stars, and of all creatures, whether reasonable or void of reason, visible and invisible; angels, archangels, virtues, dominations, principalities, powers, thrones, cherubim, as if we should say with David, 'praise the Lord with me.' We also make mention of the seraphim which Isaiah saw in spirit, round about the throne of God, together chanting 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' &c. We say this hymn of the cherubim in honour of God, and to unite ourselves to the whole heavenly company."

V. *The Epiclesis; or, Invocation* :—

"Being thus sanctified by heavenly songs, we pray God, who is so good and merciful, to send the Holy Ghost on that which is offered, to the end that the bread may be made the Body of Jesus Christ, and the wine the Blood of Jesus Christ; for everything which receives the impression of the Holy Ghost is sanctified, and changed into another substance."

In another place, the same writer says :—

"The bread and wine of the Eucharist, before the invocation of the adorable Trinity, were simply bread and wine; but the invocation being effected, the bread becomes (*γίνεται*) the Body of Jesus and the wine His Blood."

Lect. xix.
Sect. 7.

He adds :—

"The bread of the Eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is no longer common bread, but the Body of Jesus Christ."

VI. *The Great Intercession* for quick and dead.—Lect. xxiii.
These are his words :

“ When the spiritual sacrifice is completed, and the bloodless worship which we render to God, by means of the sacrifice of expiation, is fulfilled, then we pray for the universal peace of the Churches, for the peace of the world, for the emperor, the armies, the sick, the afflicted ; in fine, we pray and offer this sacrifice for all those who have need of succour. After this we make memory of the patriarchs, apostles, and martyrs, to the end that, by virtue of their prayers, God may favourably receive ours. Then we pray for the holy fathers, for the bishop, and, in a word, for all those who have gone out of this world in our communion, believing their souls receive a great solace from the prayers which are offered for them in this holy and tremendous sacrifice which is upon the altar.”

VII. *The “ Our Father.”*—S. Cyril adds : “ Then we say the prayer which the Saviour delivered to His apostles ; and thou sayest, ‘ Amen.’ ”

VIII. *“ Sancta Sanctis ; ”* or, *Holy Things to the Holy.*—This was said in all, or most, of the ancient Eastern Liturgies. On this S. Cyril remarks :

“ Holy are the gifts presented, since they have been visited by the Holy Ghost ; holy are ye also since the Holy Ghost has been vouchsafed to you ; and the holy things correspond to holy persons.”

The same writer refers to the 34th Psalm, and to the manner of receiving with the open hand.

I will now bring forward a conciliar authority, as confirmatory of the prevalence of the Liturgical forms and acts which have been already instanced. I refer to the Council of Laodiceæ, held in the fourth century. I quote the 19th Canon, as given by Hefele in his Vol. ii. p. 31 History of Church Councils :—

"After the homily of the bishop, first the prayer for the catechumens shall be said separately, and after the departure of the catechumens the prayers for the penitents, and when these also have received the imposition of hands and have withdrawn, then, in like manner shall be said three prayers for the faithful; the first in silence, the second and third repeated aloud. Hereupon the kiss of peace is given; and after the priests have given the kiss of peace to the bishop, the laity shall give the same to one another, and the holy Sacrifice shall be offered; and the clerics alone shall be permitted to approach the Altar of Sacrifice (*θυσιαστήριον*), and to take part in it."

We have in this canon—(1) The separate dismissal of the catechumens and penitents with special blessings and prayers; (2) the prayers for the faithful, *i.e.*, the great Intercession; (3) the *osculum pacis*; (4) the Communion.

Canon 21.

Sub-deacons are mentioned. They are forbidden "to have a place in the diaconicum, or to touch the sacred vessels, or to wear a stole, or to leave their place at the door. They may not distribute the bread nor bless the chalice." Another canon (49) orders that, "during Lent the bread shall not be offered, except on Saturday and Sunday." The meaning of this is, that the "mass of the pre-sanctified" should be said on all other days of Lent. This was a service of communion, without consecration or oblation; which latter was considered a joyful act, and therefore not suitable to be used on days of sorrow or humiliation. Another canon (58) directs "that no sacrifices shall be offered in houses by bishops or priests." This, of course, means the Eucharistic sacrifice, and therefore forbids any consecration of the Holy Eucharist in private houses for the purpose of

clinic communion, which was always given to the sick from the reserved Sacrament. Another canon (14) orders that: "At Easter the host shall no more be sent into foreign dioceses as eulogia." This refers to a ^{See Hefele, in loco.} very primitive custom of sending the Blessed Sacrament to bishops, and perhaps others, at a distance, as an expression of Christian communion and fellowship; which was now in this Council, and by other authorities forbidden to be done; and instead thereof the blessed bread, or the antidoron, as now used in the Eastern Churches, was substituted. The antidoron survives in the French Church under the name of pain-benit.

In canon 18 of the Œcumenical Synod of Nicæa, ^{Hefele, vol. i., p. 427.} A.D. 325, it was forbidden that deacons should administer the Eucharist to priests, or receive the Eucharist before bishops or priests.

At the Synod of Antioch, A.D. 341, it was decreed: ^{Vol. ii. p. 67.} "That all who come to the Church of God and hear the sacred Scriptures, but do not join with the people in prayer, or who in any irregular manner dishonour the common reception of the Holy Communion shall be excommunicated.

An earlier Council, Neo-Cæsarea, held between 314 and 325, orders:

"That country priests must not offer the Holy Sacrifice in the city church (the cathedral), when the bishop or the city ^{Vol. i. pp. 222 and 229.} priests are present; they must not do more than distribute with prayer the bread and the chalice. But if the bishop and his priests are absent, and if the country priest be invited to celebrate, he may administer Holy Communion."

On this canon Grancolas has these words:—"One ^{p. 186.}

sees the use (or practice) of sacrifice, the minister who offers the offering, the consecration, the distribution or communion." The Council of Carthage, canon 9, forbids a priest "to celebrate mass in any kind of place, *i.e.*, it should be done only in churches or oratories. Grancolas remarks, "that this is one of the most ancient records in which the word mass is used to signify the public prayers which the Church uses in offering the sacrifice." The third Council had ordered in canon 23: "That no one should address the Son instead of the Father, or the Father instead of the Son; and when one assists or ministers at the altar, prayer should be always addressed to the Father."

277.

278.

Isidore Hermant,
Hist. des Con.
ol. I. p. 376.

Hefele, vol. II.,
398.

Hefele gives this canon as 21 of the Council of Hippo. Canon 23 rules the matter of the sacrifice, and directs: "That in the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ no other thing should be offered than what Christ Himself delivered, *i.e.*, bread and wine, mixed with water." Canon 29 enjoins that the Sacrament of the altar may not be celebrated by others than men who are fasting, except the day on which the anniversary of the Lord's Supper is observed. For if any commemoration of the dead is to be made in the afternoon, whether of bishops or others, it shall be done by prayer alone, if those who perform it have dined.

Grancolas,
p. 400-403.

S. Jerome, who is our next witness, bears testimony to the daily sacrifice in these words: "The voices of the priests daily at the sacrifice sing that Christ is the only sinless One." Again: "Daily at the Sacrifice (or Sacrament) of His Body, believers dare to say, Our Father." And: "fed with the Heavenly Bread we

say, 'Taste and see how gracious,' &c. This Psalm is found in S. James's Lit., and other most ancient Liturgies.

In another place, he refers to the Eucharistic lights : "Through all the Churches of the East, at the reading of the Gospel lights are lighted, although the sun was then shining." Once more : "At the prayers of the priest the Body and Blood is made (*conficitur*)."

The illustrious father, S. John Chrysostom, Arch-See (Grancol pp. 131-146). bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 397, has the following Liturgical references :—

"The bishop entering the church salutes the people, and after that he who is to preside (*i.e.*, celebrate) has entered, he says, 'Peace be unto you ;' he also says, 'The Lord be with you,' and the people respond, 'and with Thy Spirit.' He makes mention of the lections, prophets, apostle (or epistle), and gospel, collects and prayers for the dismissal of the energumens, penitents, and catechumens, and afterwards for bishops, kings, magistrates ; for infidels, Jews, heretics, schismatics ; that sinners may do penitence, and that the gate of heaven may by baptism be open to catechumens. He also makes solemn mention of the Gloria in Excelsis, and of the triumphal hymn, or the hymn of the angels. The faithful know well what is the hymn which the beautiful spirits sing, as they chant 'Glory to the Highest in heaven, and peace to men.' And in another place : 'Angels and cherubims veil their faces before the altar, and the seraphims chant with profound reverence, holy, holy, holy is the Lord,' &c. Having made reference to the sacrifice of Elijah and the fire, which at his prayer descended to consume the sacrifice, he says : 'If from these ancient mysteries you pass to ours, you will find that which is much more marvellous, for the bishop, being at the altar, does not invoke fire to descend, but the Holy Spirit. He remains a long time in prayer, not that he may cause fire to fall from heaven to consume the things offered, but to bring down the grace of the Holy Spirit, . . .

Who from thence shall be poured into the souls of the worshippers, shall inflame and render them more pure and more shining than the silver which has been purified in the fire.’”

It appears from S. Chrysostom that a curtain was drawn before the holy mysteries, in the doorway of the sanctuary, and was drawn back in part, before the communion of the people, that they might hold themselves in adoration, as if they saw God in heaven. His words are :—

“When thou hearest that we all pray together, when thou seest the veil uplifted, think that the heaven itself is opened, and the angels descend.”

His description of the act of Consecration is very majestic :—

Le Brun,
iii. p. 25.

“What doest thou, O man, when the priest, standing at the holy table, his hands stretched forth and lifted up to heaven, invoking the Holy Spirit, that he would come to operate upon the gifts; there is, then, a great silence kept, and when He has descended and acted on the gifts, and the Lamb of God is offered and prepared (*i.e.*, for communion), it is then that the silence is broken?”

Again he says :—

Inner, p. 33.

“It is not man who makes the offered gifts to become (*γενέσθαι*) the Body and Blood of Christ, but Christ Himself (once) crucified for us; the priest stands performing the visible representation (*σχήμα*), uttering the words, the power, and grace of which are from God, ‘This is My Body,’ &c.”

Concerning prayers for the departed, he says :—

m. xxi. in ct.
Grancolas
140.

“It is not in vain that one offers for the dead; it is no without reason that the minister cries, ‘Let us pray for those who sleep in Christ, and for those who celebrate their memory . . . The angels are here, the Son of God is present

and with Him all the multitude who intercede for them.' . . . At the same time, one makes mention of the martyrs ; and it is for them a great honour, all saints as they are, to be named in the presence of their Lord at the same time, His death is represented, and is offered in sacrifice, while the ineffable mysteries are celebrated, much as when one erects trophies to the glories of kings, one celebrates, at the same time, the memory of those who had a share in his victories ; and during this time the prisons are opened to set the prisoners free ; . . . in such manner the time of the offering of the sacrifice is the time of obtaining trophies and victories."

Having made reference to the offerings of the Magi, he makes a comparison with the Eucharist :—

"As to ourselves, it is no more upon a cradle that we behold Him, it is upon an altar ; it is no more in the arms of a woman, it is in the hands of a priest, and under the wings of the Holy Ghost, who descends on the oblations with abundance of grace."

In his book on the Priesthood, there are these remarkable words : "He" (*i.e.*, the priest) "invokes the Holy Ghost, who accomplishes" (*viz.*, by consecration) "this awful sacrifice ; and the priest holds in his hands the Lord of the universe." He speaks of the presence of the angels, "that the space about the altar is filled with the choir of these heavenly powers, who assemble there to render honour to Him Who reposes on it." For this reason, he terms the Church "the retreat of angels and archangels, the palace of God, yea, even heaven itself."

Our next witness will be the great S. Augustine. Thus :—"We have heard the first lection of the Apostle, then we sing a Psalm, after this the Gospel lection." It may be observed that the north African Church fol-

Hom. 33 in c
Natv. Christ

Serm. de Ve
app.
See Krazer, :
Antiqua Ecc
Occident Lit
P. 32.

lowed the Roman or Western rite, according to which, on ordinary days, there is no Old Testament lection or prophecy. The Psalm between the Epistle and Gospel represents the gradual or sequence. The lessons were read from the steps of the exedra or ambon, on which the great doctor says, "As from a higher place I spoke." "The catechumens being sent away, the faithful remain." He speaks of the commemoration of the faithful departed at the holy Sacrifice thus :—

"That which is delivered by tradition from the fathers of the universal Church we observe, viz., that when at the sacrifice itself, they who have died in the communion of the 'Body and Blood of Christ' are commemorated in the proper place, prayers should be made, and communion should be offered for them."

He refers to the form of communicating the faithful. "Thou hearest 'the Body of Christ,' thou respondest 'Amen!' And in like manner, in receiving the chalice, he tells us that a Psalm was sung while the Eucharist was distributed to the people; and he adds: "Everything being completed, and the Great Sacrament having been received, the Thanksgiving concludes the whole."

He refers to the commemoration of martyrs at altars built over their graves :—

Invitation Dei,
viii. c. 27.

"But who ever heard of a priest of the faithful standing at an altar built for the honour and worship of God, over the holy body of some martyr, say in the prayers, I offer a sacrifice to thee, O Peter, or O Paul or Cyprian? for it is to God that sacrifices are offered at their tombs, . . . and the reason why we pay such honours to their memory is, that by so doing, we both give thanks to the true God for their

victories, and by recalling them afresh to remembrance, may stir ourselves up to imitate them, by seeking to obtain like crowns and palms," &c.

He speaks of the daily Eucharist thus: "Christ ^{De Civitate bk. x. ch. 2} is both the Priest who offers and the Sacrifice offered. And He purposed there should be a daily sign of this in the Sacrifice of the Church." Again: "Daily through the whole world the human race, almost with one voice, respond to the *Sursum Corda*, i.e., 'Lift up your hearts,' '*habemus ad Dominum*,' i.e., 'that they lift them up unto the Lord.'"

He describes the sacrament as—

"that which we take from the fruits of the earth and consecrate, and then duly receive to our spiritual health, in memory of the Passion of our Lord for us; and this, although it is brought by the hands of men into that visible form, yet is not sanctified to become so great a sacrament, except by the Spirit of God working invisibly."

He describes the consecration as "the prayer of the priest confirmed or made effectual by the evangelical words and mysteries."

He says the Lord's Prayer is said daily in the Church at the altar of God. He refers to the *Sursum Corda*, and that which follows, and adds: "After this the sanctification (or consecration) of the Sacrifice is made, which is followed by the Lord's Prayer, which, having been finished, one says, 'Peace be unto you,' and the Christians give one another the holy kiss of peace."

There is a very interesting and important description of the order and manner of the Liturgy, by James, Bishop of Edessa, who died in 710. It is contained in

a letter addressed to "Thomas Presbyter," and has been called a Liturgical Commentary on the Eastern Liturgies. I take it from some very valuable papers, *Fragmenta Liturgica*, published anonymously by Mr Hammond. This is, he tells us, reprinted from Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*:—

"Concerning the mystical administration of the rational and unbloody sacrifice, *i.e.*, the Oblation or Liturgy, our fathers have handed down to us these particulars. After the reading of the sacred books of the Old and New Testaments, three prayers must be said. The first prayer over the hearers or catechumens, when the deacon proclaims, 'Hearers depart,' *i.e.*, that they should pass under the hand of the bishop or presbyter, and having received the imposition of hands, should go out. The like was done to the energumens and penitents. All these things are now antiquated, although the deacons still in one place make mention of them. Afterwards the deacon exclaims, 'Let the doors of the church be closed.' Why? From fear of the heathen (who imitated, and thereby profaned the sacred rites of the Christians). Then after the creed of the three hundred and eighteen fathers was written (*i.e.*, of Nicæa) it was judged fit to be inserted in the order of the Oblation, that, through the same, souls, hearts, bodies, and voices might be sanctified; which having been said, and the doors closed, it was ordered that three prayers of (or for) the faithful should be made. A little after, when some solemn rites and ceremonies were appointed in the Church, they (*i.e.*, the fathers) willed that of these three prayers the first should be made as a mystical petition for peace, the other for the imposition of hands, and the third when they uncovered the holy table, by this signifying that the gates of heaven were now opened. And immediately after the deacon gives order, admonishing that they should stand upright, which order is fitting, as signifying that the priest is about to commence the mystical Liturgy. The priest turns to those who have their thoughts collected, and says, 'Peace be to you all,' making upon them the sign of the cross. They respond

'And with Thy Spirit.' But the fathers afterwards judged and ordered that in this place, when the cross was made, there should be said : 'The love of God the Father, the grace of the Only Begotten Son, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all ;' and that, in the place of one cross, the priest should make three over the people. In the place of these (words) the Alexandrine fathers say before the beginning of the Liturgy, 'The Lord be with you all.' Afterwards the priest says to the people, 'Lift up your hearts,' and the people respond, 'We lift them up unto the Lord !' He also exclaims, 'Let us give thanks to the Lord ;' to which they reply, 'It is right and just what thou hast said.' Then the priest directs his words to God the Father, to whom the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of the Only Begotten is offered in propitiation of the souls of the faithful ; and adds, 'It is just and right that we should praise Thee.' And in a few words he commemorates the whole scope of Divine grace, viz., first, the creation of man, then his redemption ; lastly, the dispensation to which Christ submitted when He suffered for us. Hitherto the whole of the Liturgy has in view that those things which Christ has borne for us, we should declare and commemorate. But there is also a prayer for the illapse of the Holy Ghost, now that the commemorations are ended, by which (*viz.* the invocation and commemorations) the oblation is completed.¹ After the completion of the oblation, according to this order, he, (the priest) imparts to the people the blessing of peace, signing them with the cross ; and immediately he breaks, signs, and worships (*colit*) the mysteries, while the deacon recites the catholica. After this they say the prayer, Paternoster. They (*i.e.*, the fathers) have handed down to us that after these things the priest ought again to announce peace to the people and to make the prayer of the imposition of hands. They have also taught that he should communicate (*impertiret*) to the people the grace of the Trinity signing them three times with the cross, and saying, 'The grace of the Trinity,' &c., while the

¹ In the Eastern Syrian family of Liturgies, the commemorations were placed before the epiclesis and after the words of institution.

people respond, 'And with thy Spirit.' These things having been done, the priest ought to testify to the people and to admonish them in the following words: these holy (mysteries) of the Body and Blood (*i.e.*, of Christ) are given to 'the pure and holy, and not to those who are not holy;' and while he utters this testimony, with a loud voice, he elevates the Sacrament on high, and shows the same to all the people, as if for a testimony; while at the same time the people make a proclamation, saying, 'One holy Father,' &c., and after this manner they receive the Sacrament. They (*i.e.* the fathers) teach that after Communion, confession (*i.e.* of faith) and thanksgiving should be made, inasmuch as they have been counted worthy of the participation of the Body and Blood. They also have ordered that the prayer of the imposition of hands should be made; and that the deacons should dismiss the people, so that they may depart in peace. I have received this tradition from the fathers, and I hand down the same."

I will conclude these references to early writers by referring to two Archbishops of Thessalonica, who lived at a later date, but have given accounts of the forms and arrangements of the ancient Liturgical Rites. These writers are Simeon of Thessalonica and Cabalilas. The latter was Archbishop of that see in the fourteenth century. I quote from his Commentary on the Mysteries, as translated into French by Grancolas:—

"The effect of the sacrifice is to change the symbols into the Body and Blood of Christ. The preparation is made by prayers, psalmody, and the reading of Holy Scripture. The priest prepares himself before celebrating by saying many prayers, judging himself unworthy to approach the altar. Afterwards he washes his hands, and puts on the vestments appointed for the sacrifice. The gifts are not at the first placed on the altar, but are prepared upon another table, and are offered to God before they are consecrated, that the material things to be offered in sacrifice may be blessed and

holy. They are offered as the first-fruits of the earth ; much as one blesses the water which is used in Baptism. All the bread is not blessed, but only that which is separated from the rest and set apart for the sacrifice. The bread is divided into many parts, to represent the life, death, and glory of Jesus Christ. The death is represented by crosses marked upon the bread, and in dividing it the priest says, 'One of the soldiers pierced His side.' Water and wine are poured into the chalice in memory of the water and the blood which flowed from the side of Jesus Christ, the priest saying, 'Forthwith flowed thereout blood and water.' Afterwards the offering is made for the living and the dead, according to the intention of the celebrant. He then places a little star or asterisk upon the bread, saying, 'Behold the star that stood over where the young Child was.' This is to indicate that the birth of Jesus Christ was manifested by a star. Afterwards the priest covers the chalice and the paten with a veil and crosses them. The priest then comes to the altar, and standing before the holy Table, he commences the sacrifice, saying, 'Blessed be the Kingdom of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,' and exhorts the people to attention, saying, 'In peace let us pray unto the Lord.' He confesses his sin, and prays for peace, for the fruits of the earth and other needs ; he says the Kyrie, imploring the mercy of God. The deacon exhorts to prayers, and the priest prays in secret for all the subjects which have been announced by the deacon, and the people respond Amen. The xcii. Psalm is then sung. During this time the priest makes his entrance into the sanctuary, while he prays God that the angels may enter with him, and that they may accompany him as he goes to the holy altar to offer the sacrifice. Psalms xciii. and xciv. are then chanted. After these psalms the priest, standing before the altar, holds up the book of the Gospel and exhibits it to the people. The hymn, Holy God, which seems to be taken from the xlii. Psalm, is then sung."

This is probably the Trisagion.

"The people are previously exhorted to be attentive to this prayer. Afterwards a portion of the Epistles of S. Paul

is read. A hymn is sung, at the end of which the Kyrie is added. The gospel is read, and then the deacon calls the people to prayers, and the priest prays for bishops, priests, and others. After these prayers, he goes to the table on which the gifts are lying, and with much reverence he bears them on his head, and proceeds round the Church, that the people may see them, who, during the time, sing hymns ; and placing themselves on their knees, entreat the priest to be mindful of them at the sacrifice."

This is clearly the rite of the great Entrance. The writer goes on to say :—

"This usage has been substituted for another formerly observed, which was longer, when the faithful themselves came to the altar with great reverence to make their offerings. The priest, having placed the gifts upon the altar, exhorts the people to pray that they may be presented unto the Lord. . . . The kiss of peace is then given, while the priest says, 'Peace be to all,' and 'Let us love one another,' to which the response is made, 'And with Thy spirit.' The Creed or profession of faith is then said ; then the Preface and the Sursum Corda. The consecration is made by the words, 'This is My Body,' and the prayer that the Holy Ghost may descend upon the symbols. There is a commemoration of the living and the dead, and prayers for the church and the state ; memory is also made of the Holy Virgin and the saints, to the end that we may be succoured by their prayers. The priest prays also for himself ; and for the consecrated gifts, that they may sanctify all who receive them ; for the guardian angels, that they may continue to succour us. The Lord's Prayer is then said ; and after that the priest prays for the people, who bow profoundly ; he then elevates the consecrated Bread, and exhorts the people to come and communicate, saying, 'Sancta sanctis' (*i.e.*, holy things for holy persons), and they respond, 'One holy Lord.' Warm water is poured into the chalice, and afterwards the priest communicates, himself ; then, turning to the people, he exhibits to them the holy mysteries ; and the people adore Jesus Christ Who is under the symbols, saying ; 'Blessed is He Whom

cometh in the name of the Lord.' After communion, the priest prays for all who have approached the Eucharist ; and canticles are sung. The priest goes forth from the altar, and, standing before the gates of the Sanctuary, he offers prayers for the people ; and he distributes to those who have not communicated another portion of the bread, which had been set apart from the beginning of the Service, but had not been consecrated."

This is the *anti-doron* of the Greeks, and the *pain-benit* of the French.

The Commentary of Simeon of Thessalonica is quoted at great length, by Dr Neale in the Introduction to his Translation of the primitive Liturgies. It is a highly mystical explanation of the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.

CHAPTER IV.

EASTERN LITURGIES.

Having in the previous pages selected and exhibited certain Liturgical forms, phrases, and ritual acts, the Apostolic writings, and cited some accounts of structure, arrangements, and usages, as given in primitive and early writers, I proceed to examine the ancient of the Eastern Liturgies. No early manuscripts of these Liturgies have as yet been discovered. In it is the opinion of Liturgical scholars, founded on probable grounds, that Liturgies were not written the fourth or fifth centuries ; or, at least, that the sacred portion, viz., the Canon or Anaphora, was written until then.¹ The Liturgies were handed by tradition, and for the most part committed to memory by the priests.

¹ On the question whether Liturgies were written at this early period Le Brun has these words : " S. Ephrem says the Apostles, who left us the symbol of the faith, are also the institutors of the mystery ; but as S. Basil and Pope Innocent the first have taught us, neither prayers of the invocation, nor the formula of consecration were written : " The memory of the priests was their canon and their code. " Le Brun also quotes these words of S. Augustine : " Let your memory be your codex. " He adds : " By ancient usage the priests were required to know the Liturgy by heart, a practice recommended and very much observed among the Copts. The Novelles of the Emperor Justinian suppose this obligation as resting on bishops and priests as statutes of the Church of France laid it on them even in the sixth century. "

It was only natural that in the lapse of time, owing to the variations in thought and feeling, as well as changes in the outward condition of the Church, that the Liturgies would undergo modifications and receive additions. These additions are not necessarily interpolations. My contention is, that if we find in the most ancient Liturgies those features which have been adduced from the writings of the Apostles and from early authors, such portions must, in fairness, be accepted as parts of the Liturgy or Liturgies used by the Apostles. There are parts of these ancient Liturgies which are, without doubt, later additions, and some interpolations. Between these accretions, and such parts as are clearly of Apostolic origin, there is much that may claim acceptance as of early date, unless evidence can be shown of a later origin. The origin of the late interpolations or additions I refer to is manifest, and the history of their insertion is, in many cases, well known. These will be mentioned later on.

The most ancient Liturgies are undoubtedly Eastern ; and bear the names of S. James, S. Clement, and S. Mark. There is another Liturgy, of Eastern Syria, for which some Liturgical writers claim a like antiquity. These Liturgies possess common features, which justify us in speaking of them as a class or genus ; while in their subordinate parts they present sufficient varieties to lead Liturgical writers to divide them into groups or families. I will take Mr Hammond's classification as the most convenient. He arranges them into three groups or families :—

I. Those of Western Syria which bear the names of S. James (both in Greek and Syriac), S. Basil and

S. Chrysostom, the Armenian; and numerous derivatives—all these belonged to the Patriarchate of Antioch.

II. The Alexandrian: This group comprises S. Mark's Liturgy and its derivatives; as the Coptic S. Cyril, and two other Coptic Liturgies, by S. Basil and S. Gregory (Nazianzum). The Ethiopic Liturgy belongs also to this group.

III. The Eastern Syrian Liturgies. The most ancient and the principal of these is that of SS. Adæus and Maris. There are also belonging to this group the Liturgies of Theodore the Interpreter and of Nestorius; the latter is of anterior date to the Council of Ephesus. The Malabar Liturgy goes with these. These Liturgies are commonly called Nestorian, as they are in use in that Communion; but the principal of them, in their origin, reach up to a very early date. They are closely similar to the Liturgies of the Orthodox Church, and in some parts identical with these Liturgies. As it is clear that the Nestorians would not have borrowed from the Liturgies of the orthodox, after the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), when they became a separate and schismatic communion, it follows that these Liturgies are of earlier date than this Council.¹

The Eastern Liturgies are divided into two principal parts, viz., the Anaphora and the Pro-anaphora—corresponding to the Canon and the Order of the Roman and other Western Liturgies. The Pro-anaphora comprises

¹ A similar remark may be made in regard to the Coptic and Syrian Monophysite Liturgies, viz., that their similarity, and in part identity with the Liturgies of the Orthodox Church, offers a strong probability that these Liturgies, in their principal parts, reach up to a period antecedent to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.

all that precedes the Apostolic Benediction, and the Sursum Corda which immediately followed it. At this point the Anaphora commences, and includes all the rest; excepting that in the Eastern Syrian group there was a post-communion after the thanksgiving. The following is the order generally followed in the Anaphora of the ancient Eastern Liturgies:—

1. The Benediction, Sursum Corda, Preface and Trisagion, which in these Liturgies is termed the Triumphal Hymn.

2. The Consecration Prayer follows, and this is commonly preceded by a rehearsal, often at great length, of God's works in creation and redemption. The Consecration proper consists (a) of the recital of Christ's Own words used at the Institution; (b) the great Oblation, i.e., of His Body and Blood in memorial of His death and sacrifice; (c) The Epiclesis or Invocation of the Holy Ghost, that He would (first) sanctify and make the Bread and the Cup the Body and Blood of Christ, and (second), that these holy gifts *having by this operation been already made, the Body and Blood* may be for remission of sins and for sanctification to all who receive them. This is the invariable order of the Consecration prayer in all Eastern Liturgies—viz., Christ's words, great Oblation, Invocation.

3. Immediately after the Consecration, the great Intercession follows in most of the Liturgies; but in this particular there are variations. This is the order in the Liturgy of S. James, and its derivatives: The same arrangement is followed in the Coptic Liturgies of S. Basil and S. Gregory. In the Liturgy of S. Mark, and in the Coptic of S. Cyril, as well as in the

Ethiopian (both derived from it), the great Intercession is placed in the middle of the Preface; while in the Liturgies of Eastern Syria, *e.g.*, that of S.S. Adæus and Maris, it is in the midst of the Consecration Prayer, *viz.*, after the Triumphal hymn, and before the Invocation: in those of Theodore and Nestorius it is placed between the words of Institution and the Epiclesis.

4. The Lord's Prayer, with its embolismus, concludes the great Intercession; accompanied by the fraction, commixture, and intinction.

5. The Communion, preceded by preparatory prayers, and accompanied by psalms.

6. Thanksgiving and post-Communion.

I have not included the Clementine among the Liturgies which I propose to consider: as the purpose of these pages is to deal only with such Liturgies as were, at one time or another, in actual use; and it is generally agreed, by persons competent to form an opinion, that this Liturgy was never used in any Church. It may be regarded as a literary composition of much value, as witnessing to the Liturgical forms and ceremonies in use at the early period in which it was written. It is found in the second, seventh, and eighth books of the Apostolical Constitutions, and was written probably not later than the fourth century. Dr Neale assigns to it an earlier date. Mr Hammond says: "It represents fairly the pre-constantinian Liturgy of about the middle of the third century. It is named after S. Clement, one of the earliest bishops of Rome; and closely resembles the Liturgy of S. James;" which, as been already said, was the use of the Church of Jerusalem.

I now proceed to consider the Liturgy of S. James, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, probably the most ancient Liturgy in actual use, and one which, more or less, governed the form and structure of other Liturgies. It contains, as we shall see, the Liturgical features which have been adduced from the New Testament, and it closely corresponds with the descriptions of the Eucharistic Service given by Justin Martyr, S. Irenæus, and S. Cyril of Jerusalem. The Liturgies of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom, now in use throughout the orthodox Church of the East, are certainly derived from it. The universal tradition of the Eastern Church has ascribed this Liturgy to S. James. Subsequently to the schism which occurred after the Council of Chalcedon, it was A.D. 451. claimed and used, as S. James' Liturgy, by the Monophysites, as well as by the Orthodox Church ; while, as it has already been pointed out, the close correspondence of these two Liturgies, Greek and Syriac, points to a time anterior to this Council when all the Christians in the Patriarchate used one Liturgy in their common and united worship. Besides the universal tradition, to which reference has been made, we have the clear testimony of the Council held in Constantinople, under the dome of the Chapel of the Palace, and therefore called the Council in Trullo, A.D. 692. This Council See Du Cange, vol. VI., p. 1922. condemned the error of the Armenians in using undiluted wine in the Eucharist. The fathers fortified their censure by a reference to a written Liturgy of S. James. This Council, of two hundred and twenty-seven bishops, affirmed "that James, the brother (according to the flesh) of Christ our God, to whom the throne of the Church of Jerusalem was first committed, and Basil,

Palmer,
17, 18.

Archbishop of the Church of Cæsarea, whose fame extended throughout the whole Church, have appointed &c." Several other authorities might be cited, but I limit myself to two others.—1. The Emperor, Charles the Bald (ninth century), says in his letter to the Clergy of Ravenna: "We have had before us the solemn rite of the Mass, after the manner of Jerusalem, the author of which was S. James the Apostle." 2. Balsamon Patriarch of Antioch in the twelfth century, was applied to by Mark, Patriarch of Alexandria, as to whether he ought not to use the Liturgies, which were believed to have been written by James, the Lord's brother, and by S. Mark. Balsamon, who was as strong a supporter and promoter of the Constantinopolitan rites of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom, as the western Popes have been of the Roman rite, replied that no Council had attributed to S. Mark the Liturgy which bears his name; but he acknowledges, though grudgingly, that the Council of Trullo had assigned to S. James the Liturgy which bears his name.

I think that these testimonies are sufficient to justify us in assuming, that this Liturgy was the use of Antioch and Jerusalem at a very early date; and that, in its main and most important particulars, it represents the use of the Apostles themselves. It will be seen presently that the Liturgy itself professes to be written by an Apostle or Apostles, who were present at the last Supper—"breaking bread He gave it to us, His Disciples;" also "He gave the Chalice to us, His Apostles." I do not contend that the Liturgy was actually written by S. James, or by any other Apostle, but that in its most important particulars it represents

the use of the Apostles. In truth, as has been remarked, Liturgies were not written until a much later date. Moreover, the fact that S. James is related by early Church writers to have been the first Bishop of Jerusalem, lends a further confirmation to the belief that the Liturgy of that Church would naturally bear his name, and must have received his sanction.

I will here give Dr Neale's summary of his judgment concerning the dates of these Liturgies which we designate as ancient. He says:—

“I shall content myself, therefore, with assuming (1) that these Liturgies, though not composed by the Apostles whose names they bear, were the legitimate development of their unwritten tradition respecting the Christian Sacrifice; the words, probably, in the most important parts, the general tenor, in all portions, descending unchanged from the Apostolic authors. (2) That the Liturgy of S. James is of earlier date, as to its main fabric, than A.D. 200; that the Clementine office is at least not later than 260; that the Liturgy of S. Mark is nearly cœval with that of S. James; while those of S. Basil or S. Chrysostom are to be referred respectively to the Saints by whom they purport to be composed. In all these cases several manifest insertions and additions do not alter the truth of the general statement.”

Another great authority on this matter, Grancolas, *An. Lib.*, p. has these words:—

“I have no difficulty at all in saying and maintaining that the Church at Jerusalem, has had from all time the manner and form of celebrating the holy mysteries, and that S. James arranged it.”

But while contending that this Liturgy, in its principal parts and general structure, is of Apostolic date, one clearly recognises later additions and interpolations. The writer just quoted (Grancolas) admits

that there are many things which give it the appearance of a later date. He instances the word "theotokos," which was not in use until about the time of the Council of Ephesus, and "homousios," which was hardly known before the Council of Nicæa. The hymn, *Trisagion*, which is found in S. James' Liturgy, was first inserted in the time of the Emperor Theodosius. The invocations and prayers addressed to the Blessed Virgin are clearly a late interpolation. The Nicene Creed could not have place in the Apostolic Liturgy; and in fact was not recited in any Liturgy until A.D. 510, when it was so ordered by Timothy, Bishop of Constantinople. Its Liturgical use was introduced into the west by the third Council of Toledo, which ordered it to be recited in all churches of Spain and Gaul. It may be added that the rites known as the little and the great entrance, used respectively at the bringing in of the Gospel, and of the Elements, were taken from Constantinople, and are among the modifications of the earlier Liturgy made by S. Basil and adopted by S. Chrysostom.

I will now give an analysis of this Liturgy as contained in the recensions of the text, published by Neale and Hammond, with a reference to Swainson's edition. In this Liturgy we have:—

I. Preparatory prayers by Priest and Deacon, both for themselves and the congregation, including two prayers of incense. These are said before the entrance into the Sanctuary.

II. The entrance prayers and the Introit.

III. A benedictory prayer for the living and departed.

IV. The Synapte or Deacon's Litany.

V. The hymn Trisagion, or "Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal, &c.," and the accompanying prayer.

VI. The collect, lections from Old and New Testament, and sermon.

VII. Bidding prayer by the Deacon, with a commemoration of the Blessed Virgin (clearly a late interpolation); followed by a prayer for light to understand that which has been read.

VIII. Dismissal of Catechumens: followed by a third "prayer of incense."

IX. The cherubic hymn sung at the entrance or bringing in of the holy gifts.

The text of the hymn is thus rendered, by Dr Neale:—

"Let us who mystically represent the cherubim, and sing the thrice holy hymn to the quickening Trinity, lay by at this time all worldly cares, that we may receive the King of Glory invisibly attended by the angelic orders, Alleluia."

The prayer of cherubic hymn is said, while the holy gifts are offered; and in it these words occur:—

"Let all mortal flesh be silent, and stand with fear and trembling, and meditate nothing earthly within itself; for the King of kings and Lord of lords comes forward to be sacrificed, and to be given for food to the faithful; and the bands of Angels go before Him.

In the offertory prayer which follows, are these words: "Bless this offering and receive it to Thy super-celestial altar."

X. The Nicene Creed, followed by the prayer of

"bowing down" and the kiss of peace, and a threefold blessing.

XI. The Universal Litany or Catholic Synapte by the Deacon; with another commemoration of the Blessed Virgin, of late date.

XII. The Kyrie said by the people thrice; the Priest signs the gifts with the cross, and says the Gloria, as given in the New Testament, and some verses from the Psalms.

XIII. Priest says, "Magnify the Lord with me;" and people respond, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee."

XIV. A prayer for the acceptance of the sacrifice, and for those who offer. Reference is made to the offerings of Abel, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Aaron, and the incense of Zacharias; and this prayer occurs: "Grant that our offering may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit as a propitiation . . . and for the rest of the souls that have fallen asleep, &c."

XV. Prayer of the Veil, so called because said when the Veil is raised and the holy gifts exposed to view; preceded by a prayer for acceptance; in which reference is again made to the gifts of Abel, Noah, Moses, Aaron, Samuel, and Zacharias. There is this petition, "Grant that our Oblations may be well pleasing to Thee and hallowed by the Holy Ghost for a propitiation."

XVI. The Anaphora commences with the Apostolic Benediction.

XVII. Sursum Corda, Preface, Ter-Sanctus or Triumphant Hymn, and the Benedictus Qui venit.

XVIII. The Consecration Prayer, comprising (a)

Words of Institution, (b) the great Oblation, and (c) Invocation or Epiclesis, and preceded by a recital of the works of God, in creation and redemption. The words of Institution, as given in this Liturgy, have, as it has been already said, these additions: "He brake and gave to us, *His Apostles and Disciples*." The Deacon responds, "for the remission of sins and eternal life." Over the chalice the Priest uses these words: "He mixed it with wine and water, and having looked up to Heaven and displayed it to Thee, His God and Father, He gave thanks and hallowed and blessed, and filled with the Holy Ghost, and gave it to us, His disciples." The people answer "Amen" after each of the words of Institution. The Deacon says at the end of both: "We believe and confess," and the people add: "We set forth Thy death, O Lord, and confess Thy Resurrection."

• XIX. The great Commemorative Oblation, which is called "the tremendous and unbloody sacrifice." These words occur in this prayer: "Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered the heart of man to conceive the things which Thou, O God, hast prepared for them that love Thee." These words are in S. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, and are supposed by Dr Neale and Dr Littledale to have been quoted by the Apostle from this Liturgy. At the end of the oblation the people say: "Have mercy," and the priest repeats the same three times.

XX. The Invocation or Epiclesis, in which are these words:—

"Send down upon us and these proposed gifts (*προκείμενα*) Thy most Holy Spirit send down the same most

Holy Ghost, Lord, upon these holy proposed gifts that, coming upon them with His holy, good, and glorious presence, He may hallow and make this bread the Holy Body of Thy Christ (people say 'Amen'), and this cup, the precious Blood of Thy Christ (people, 'Amen'), that they may become (*γένηται*) to those who partake of them, for the remission of sins and for eternal life; for sanctification of soul and body, for the bringing forth of good works, for the confirmation of the Holy Catholic Church, which Thou hast founded upon the rock of faith, &c."

XXI. The great Intercession follows, wherein these words are found :—

"For Thy holy places especially for the glorious Zion, the mother of all churches furthermore, O Lord, vouchsafe to remember those who have this day brought these oblations to Thy holy altar, and the things for which each brought them, or which he had in his mind."

There are prayers and invocations addressed to the Blessed Virgin, which are plainly of a later introduction.

XXII. Then follow commemorations of the saints, "from righteous Abel unto this day," with the prayer :—

"Give them rest there in the land of the living, in Thy Kingdom, in the delights of Paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our holy fathers, whence pain, sorrow, and groaning is exiled, where the light of Thy countenance looks down and always shines."

There is this prayer :—

"Let us make supplication for the oblations, and hallowed, ineffable, stainless, glorious, tremendous, divine gifts, to the Lord our God : that the Lord our God having received them to His holy, heavenly, intellectual, and spiritual altar, for the odour of a sweet-smelling sacrifice, would send down, in their

stead, to us divine grace, and the gift of the most Holy Ghost."

Also these words:—

"Thou hast received in Thy goodness the gifts, presents, and fruits that have been offered before Thee for a sweet-smelling savour, and hast been pleased to sanctify and perfect them by the Grace of Thy Christ, and the visitation of Thy most Holy Spirit."

XXIII. The "Our Father," with its Preface, concludes the Great Intercession: "We are bold to call Thee our holy God and Father," and contains the embolismus, or extension of the last petition.

That which follows may be called the preparation of the communicants, and consists of—

XXIV. The prayer of humble access: the elevation of the gifts, with the exclamation "Sancta, Sanctis," which may be taken as the holy things (*i.e.*, the consecrated gifts), are lifted up to the Holiest, *i.e.*, Heaven:—or the holy things for holy persons; the fraction, intinction, commixture, and consignation follow.¹

At the consignation the priest says:—

"Behold the Lamb of God, the Son of the Father, That taketh away the sins of the world, sacrificed for the life and salvation of the world."

At the Fraction Psalms XXIII., XXXIV., CXLV.,

¹ The fraction is the breaking of the consecrated Host. In all ancient Liturgies this fraction was made after the consecration. The intinction was the dipping of the consecrated bread into the chalice, and it was in this way the Blessed Sacrament was given, under both kinds, but by one consumption. The commixture was the mingling of both kinds, the sacred Body placed in the chalice containing the Sacrament of the Blood. The consignation was the signing of one half of the broken Host with the other, after it was dipped into the paten.

and CXVII. are said, followed by a benediction, and antiphon :—

“Taste and see that the Lord is good : He that is broken and not divided, distributed to the faithful, and not consumed, &c.” People say, before receiving : “Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord.”

XXV. The Communion of Priest and people, followed by Thanksgiving. After this, the Deacon says : “In the peace of Christ, let us depart.” People answer : “In the name of the Lord ; Lord bless us.”

Deacon : “From glory to glory advancing, we hymn Thee, Saviour of our souls.” The Priest, as he goes from the altar to the Sacristy, says :—

“From might to might advancing, and having accomplished all the Divine Liturgy in Thy Temple, we now also pray Thee, vouchsafe to us Thy full mercy ; rightly divide our paths ; root us in Thy fear ; and count us worthy of Thy Heavenly Kingdom in Christ Jesus our Lord, with Whom, &c.

The Syriac Liturgy of S. James.

It has already been remarked that this Liturgy is of prior date to the Council of Chalcedon. If any one will take the trouble to compare the following account of it with the analysis of the Greek S. James already given, he cannot fail to be struck with the close similarity of the two. The Anaphora is substantially the same. There are but two Pro-anaphoræ, one of which serves for all the numerous Syrian Liturgies. I take the first of the two, translated into latin, by Renaudot, and adopted by Mr Hammond. It will be seen that this differs considerably from the Pro-anaphora of the Greek S. James.

I. The Pro-anaphora commences with the putting on of the sacerdotal vestments, accompanied with suitable and preparatory prayers.

II. On reaching the altar, the Priest prostrates himself, and kissing it, says: "Bind, O Lord, the solemnities or festivities with chains to the horns of the altar." The Deacon lights the wax candles, and says: "Alleluia. In Thy light we shall see light."

III. At the first oblation, the Priest, placing the bread on the altar, censes it, saying: "He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before the shearers is dumb, so He opened not His mouth." In offering the chalice, he says: "I will receive the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord"; pouring the wine into the chalice, he adds: "Also this wine, which is a type of the blood that flowed from the side of Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, I pour into this chalice, the chalice of salvation, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." Mixing a little water with the wine, he says: "Also this water, which is a type of the water which flowed from the side of Thy beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, I mix in this chalice, the chalice of salvation, in the name, &c."

IV. A prayer for the acceptance of the incense is said by the people with the Priest; this is followed by the Trisagion, and, what is very unusual in this place, the Lord's Prayer; and afterwards the Gloria in Excelsis.

V. The Sedra, a sort of hymn like the Latin Prose, preceded by its Preface called Proemium. In the Sedra, these words occur: "For the living and the dead, for the repose of their souls in the Heavenly Jerusalem,

through the intercession of our father Adam and our mother Eve."

VI. Priests censes the mysteries three times in the form of a cross and a circle, while all say the LI Psalm.

The Trisagion is said again, and the prayer that follows it, and a psalm proper to the day; and after it a prayer containing these words:—

"He whom Moses saw in the bush, Ezekiel in the chariot, Himself is placed upon the holy altar, and the people receive Him and live. Behold He, whom the Cherubim and Seraphim worship with great fear, is offered upon the altar, and the people receive Him and live."

VII. In a sort of hymn-prayer which follows, are these words:—

"The Priests with the Deacons stand in great fear, and distribute the Body and Blood of the Son of God. Thy sheep, O Christ, stand at Thy gate: they eat Thy Body, they drink Thy Blood, and sing Glory to Thy Divinity."

VIII. The Epistle from S. Paul is read, and a Psalm of David is said: "In the presence of our Father"—*coram Patre nostro*—The Priest exclaims: "Offer to Him sacrifice, offer oblations: ascend into the courts of the Lord: adore Him in His temple: confess and bless His name, Who bestoweth life." A hymn of praise goes before the Gospel, and the Deacon says: "Brethren, draw near to me, and be silent, and listen to the proclamation of our Saviour from the holy gospel which is read to you," and other similar words.

The people say: "bless, Father," and the Priest,

signing them with the cross, gives a long and beautiful benediction, thus :—

“May the hidden virtue of His Majesty, Which confers all blessings and all gifts of life, the same which rested on the holy Apostles in the sacred *coenaculum* of Zion, and sanctified them, and on the Mount of Olives, blessed them: may the same dwell and rest upon my brothers, the readers, and the hearers (of the Gospel) and preserve this land, and all the faithful who inhabit the same, this city and the faithful citizens thereof; grant also blessed rest to the faithful departed, who have gone forth from the same for ever.”

A prayer for acceptance of the oblation follows the Gospel, and that the Gospel just read may be as “leaven in our souls.”

IX. After the dismissal of Catechumens, the Priest says :—

“The Lord hath reigned, and put on His apparel, Alleluia. I am the bread of life, saith our Lord God, Who hath descended from on high to this lowest world, that the world may live through Me. The Father sent Me the Word and Gabriel, as a husbandman, sowed Me. The womb of Mary as the good soil received Me; and behold Priests bear Me in their hands upon the altars, Alleluia—Receive our oblation.”

X. A prayer by the Priest for the departed, who are described as those “who have put Thee on in Baptism, and received Thee from the altar”: then the Deacon says :—

“They who have eaten Thy holy Body, and have drunk Thy Blood, shall recline at Thy table with Abraham; and with the pious who have loved Thee, they shall shout and cry to Thee, O Lord, Alleluia. Give to me and them pardon.”

XI. The Creed in the plural form comes next; of course, without filioque; and the Lavabo, with variations, follows.

XII. The kiss of peace, with its prayer, and a beautiful canticle, in which are these words: "let us adore and praise the Lamb of God, Who is offered upon the altar."

The Anaphora in Syrian Liturgies begins at the kiss of peace.

XIII. The Prayer of the Veil. In the form of words at the pax it is said: "the gates of Heaven are opened; and the Holy Spirit descends upon these mysteries, and hovers or broods over them (illabitur)."

XIV. Apostolic Benediction, followed by Sursum Corda, Preface, Triumphal Hymn, and "Benedictus Qui Venit."

XV. *Consecration Prayer*.—Consisting, as always in Eastern Liturgies, of the following parts, first, of the words of Institution, preceded by a rehearsal of the work of Redemption; and at the end of each of Christ's words is added, "and life eternal"; and after, "as often as ye shall eat this bread and drink this cup," is added, "ye shall declare My death, and confess My Resurrection, till I come." The people say "Amen" at the words of Christ, and make a confession of faith; "we make commemoration of Thy death, O Lord, and we confess Thy Resurrection, and look for Thy second Advent, &c."

XVI. Next follows the great oblation: "We offer to Thee, O Lord, this terrible and unbloody sacrifice. There are interspersed prayers for mercy, and acts of praise and adoration by the people.

The Epiclesis is preceded by this introduction:—

"My beloved, how terrible is this hour, how fearful this time in which the living and Holy Spirit comes from the sublime heights of heaven, descends and broods upon this Eucharist placed in the sanctuary and sanctifies it Peace be with us, and the safe keeping of God the Father of us all. Let us cry out, and say, thrice, Kyrie Eleison."

XVII. The Epiclesis, in which occur these words:—

"Send Thy Holy Ghost that He, coming, may make this bread a life-giving body, a saving body, a heavenly body, a body giving salvation to souls and bodies, the body of the Lord God, and our Saviour, Jesus Christ."

The same words (*mutatis mutandis*) are applied to the chalice; and at the end of each is added: "for the remission of sins and for life eternal to those who receive them." Then follows the usual prayer for profitable receiving: "that they," *i.e.*, the gifts (having been thus made by the Holy Ghost the Body and Blood of Christ) "may be to us and to all who shall receive them and communicate in them, for sanctification of souls and bodies, for fruitfulness of good works, &c."

XVIII. The great Intercession in which "holy Zion" is called the "Mother of all Churches," and S. James, "the Prince of the Apostles": and prayers are made "for all who have brought offerings, and for all for whom the oblation is made, as well as for all who willed but were not able to offer."

XIX. The fraction, consignation, and commixture, while the Priest says: "we believe, we approach, we sign, and we break this Eucharist, the Heavenly Bread, the Body of the Word of the living God, &c."

The Catholica, which is said by the Deacon while the Priest makes the fraction, has these words:—

"Again and again through this holy oblation and propitiatory sacrifice, which having been offered to the Father is sanctified, completed, and perfected through the illapse of the Holy and living Spirit we pray, &c."

There is this prayer for the departed :—

"Grant, O Lord, rest to the souls of the departed, and pardon to sinners in the day of judgment. Grant, O Christ, to the souls which have departed from this world, and are separated from us, peace, with the pious and the just. May Thy cross be for them a bridge, and Thy baptism for a covering. May Thy Body and Thy holy Blood be the way which shall lead them to Thy Kingdom."

XX. *The Embolismus*.—After this a beautiful Preface to the *Pater Noster*, in which these words occur :—

"Who hast vouchsafed to sanctify and perfect the oblations taken from the fruits of the earth, as offerings of a sweet savour, by the Grace of Thine only Begotten Son, and the illapse of Thy Holy Spirit."

Then the *Embolismus* : "O Lord, our God, lead us not into temptation, which we who have no strength could not endure, but grant, with the temptation, a happy issue, that we may be able to endure it, and deliver us from evil."

Prayer of humble access, and

XXI. "Sancta Sanctis," with elevation; and confession of faith :—

"The powers of the heavens stand with us in the midst of the Sanctuary, and exercise (their) ministry to the Body of the Son of God, Who is immolated before us. Approach, accept from Him remission of sins and transgressions. Alleluia. Upon Thy holy altar, O Lord, let the memory be made of our fathers, brothers, and teachers, and grant that they may rise again to Thy right hand in the day of the appearing of Thy Majesty, O Christ our King. . . . O priests, when ye stand in the Sanctuary open the door of your hearts, say a psalm, and give thanks"—Ps. 150.

Another fraction, and intinction, preparatory to Communion; the Priest saying while he does this: "the Blood of our Lord is mingled with His Body in the name," &c., and

"O Lord, Thou hast joined (miscuisti) Thy Divinity with our humanity, and our humanity with Thy Divinity, Thy Life with our mortality, and our mortality with Thy Life: Thou hast received what was ours, and given us Thine Own, for the life and salvation of our souls: Glory be to Thee."

Priest communicates in both kinds under one form, using words in our prayer of humble access. Then he gives it to other priests, deacons, and the people. During Communion is sung:

"The Church cries aloud: my brothers receive the Body of the Son; drink His Blood with faith, and sing glory (to Him). This is the Cup which our Lord has mingled upon the wood of the Cross: approach mortals, and drink of the same for remission of sins," &c.

XXII. Post-Communion and Thanksgiving.

Liturgies of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom.

The most important of the Liturgies derived from the Liturgy of S. James are those of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom; since these, together with the Liturgy of the Presanctified, are those now in use throughout the Eastern Orthodox Church.¹

¹ The Liturgy of the Presanctified is recognised by the Council of Laodicea, which was held somewhere between 343 and 381 (see Hefele's *Hist. of Councils*, vol. ii. p. 298), and is ordered in canon 49 to be used on all days of Lent, except Saturday and Sunday. It provides for the giving of the Communion from the Gifts previously

Dr Neale describes S. Basil's Liturgy as a "recast of S. James'"; and S. Chrysostom's as "an abbreviation and a new edition of S. Basil's."

Thomas in,
c. and Mod.
cip. de Eglise
n. l. p. 104.

S. Basil was Exarch of Cæsarea in the fourth century. This title was given to a superior Metropolitan, and the holder of it ranked next to a Patriarch. It was, however, taken away from Cæsarea and two other sees, —viz., Ephesus and Heraclea—at the Council of Chalcedon, when they were placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Le Brun, vol.
i. 15, and
Imier, pp. 47,
sinson, ch. II.

This Liturgy, together with S. Chrysostom's and the Liturgy of the Presanctified, is found in the earliest MSS. of Greek Liturgies which have come down to us; viz., the "Codex Barberinus." S. Gregory Nazianzum, who was an intimate friend of S. Basil, tells us that he made a "formula of prayers for the Altar;" and S. Basil himself speaks of "prayers which he had made for the Mass." About the year 520, Peter the Deacon and others, writing to Fulgentius, an African Bishop, use these words: "wherefore also the blessed Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea, in the prayer of the holy Altar which is used throughout nearly all the East, says," &c.

Leontius of Constantinople, towards the end of the sixth century, speaks of the "Liturgy of the Apostles,

consecrated. It contains neither consecration nor Oblation; and the reason given is that these two acts of the Liturgy are expressions of joy, unsuitable for penitential days. Le Brun, vol. ii. p. 375, quotes the following as used in place of the epiclesis: "Let us pray the Lord, who has received these gifts to His holy, celestial, and intellectual Altar, that He will communicate to us His heavenly grace and the gift of the Holy Spirit," &c. (for the text of this Liturgy see Swainson).

and of S. Basil, written in the same spirit." By the Liturgy of the Apostles, is probably intended the Liturgy of S. James, as it is the most ancient and apostolic of all Liturgies, and the one from which, as I have said, S. Basil's Liturgy was derived. The Council in Trullo, already referred to, has these words in one of its canons: "Basil, the Archbishop of the Church of Cæsarea, whose glory has pervaded the whole world, delivering to us the mystical Liturgy in writing, appointed," &c. The Emperor Charles the Bald, in the ninth century, wrote to the clergy of Ravenna: "the Liturgy was celebrated before us according to the rite of Constantinople, whose author was Basil." There is no doubt that when the Exarchate of Cæsarea came under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Liturgy was considerably modified, in order to assimilate it to the use which prevailed there, and that thus modified, it became the Liturgy of the Patriarchate. Hence it is that the oldest and most authentic text is known as the Constantinopolitan S. Basil. It was at a later period introduced into the Patriarchate of Alexandria. There is also a Coptic translation in use among the Coptic Monophysites; but in both of these there are considerable variations, made under the influence of Alexandria.

See Le Brun,
vol. ii. p. 15. and
Palmer, pp. 47, 48

The Liturgy which bears the name of S. Chrysostom is of later date, and is said to be an abridgment of S. Basil's. S. Chrysostom is not spoken of by his contemporaries as the author of a Liturgy; and for more than two hundred years after his death he was known only as John of Constantinople. The famous appellation of Chrysostom, or golden-mouth, which for his

Le Brun, vol. ii.
p. 382.

eloquence he so richly deserves, was not given him for nearly three hundred years after his death. It may, however, be remarked that he gives us, as we have seen in his writings, many references to the Liturgy or Liturgies used by him, both at Antioch, where he was Priest, and at Constantinople, of which he afterwards became Bishop.

As these Liturgies in their most important features closely resemble the Liturgy of S. James, from which they are derived, I will content myself with specifying the points in which they, one or both, differ from their parent Liturgy. I will take for comparison the chief division of the Liturgies, viz., the Anaphora. In the Pro-anaphora the Constantinopolitan Liturgies differ considerably from S. James'. The preparatory part of these Liturgies known as the office of the Prothesis is not found in the most ancient Liturgies, although its equivalent is found there.

This is a preparatory office said in the Chapel of the Prothesis, and includes the vesting of the Priest, the preparation of the elements, and the first oblation. It may here be said that there are in most of the Eastern Liturgies three oblations. The first is this made in the Chapel of the Prothesis; the second, when the elements are brought to the altar, at the great Entrance; and the third is the great and solemn oblation, in the prayer of Consecration.

I now proceed to take the Anaphoræ of SS. Basil and Chrysostom and compare them with that of S. James, and note the differences.

1. In the versicles and responses which introduce the preface to the Triumphal Hymn, S. James has not the

response, "We lift them up unto the Lord," or the versicle, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord." The other two Liturgies have these words.

2. The preface itself differs in length. S. James' is the shortest, S. Basil's the longest.

3. The recital of God's works in Creation and Redemption, which precede the words of Institution, are most extended in S. Basil's, more brief in S. James', briefest in S. Chrysostom's.

4. In the words of Institution, S. James has: "looking up to Heaven and shewing it to Thee, His God and Father;" also, "gave it to us, His Apostles and disciples," and immediately after, the Deacon's response, "for the remission of sins and for life eternal;" and after "broken for you" is added, "and is given." All these the other two have not; except that S. Basil's has, "He shewed it to Thee, His God and Father." In the words said over the Cup, S. James' has, "mixed it with wine and water," as well as, "He shewed it," &c. S. Basil's has "mingled;" S. Chrysostom's has neither. S. James' alone has, "after He gave thanks and blessed and hallowed," these words: "and filled with the Holy Ghost." In S. James' and S. Basil's are these words, "ye set forth the death of the Son of Man and confess His resurrection;" or, as in S. Basil's, "My death and My resurrection." These are not in S. Chrysostom's. In S. James' alone the Deacon and people repeat these words with an act of faith.

5. At the great Oblation, S. Basil's and S. Chrysostom's have: "in behalf of all and for all we offer Thee Thine Own of Thine Own," &c.; also in these two Liturgies are these words, sung by the choir: "Thee we hymn,

Thee we praise, to Thee we give thanks, and pray to Thee, our God ;" which are not in S. James'. S. James' alone has the famous words : " grant us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the things which Thou, O God, hast prepared for them that love Thee." These are contained in the great Oblation, and are followed by supplications for mercy by the priest and the people.

6. There is a difference in the manner and wording of the Epiclesis as contained in S. James' Liturgy and those of SS. Basil and Chrysostom. In S. James' we read : " send down upon us and the proposed gifts Thy most Holy Ghost, that coming He may hallow and make this bread the Holy Body of Thy Christ," &c. In the other two Liturgies there is first a similar prayer that the Holy Ghost may come down on the proposed gifts, with these petitions interposed : " God be merciful to me a sinner ;" then, " Lord, Who didst send down Thy Holy Ghost the third hour on the Apostles, take Him not from us, O good God, but renew Him in us who pray to Thee ;" then, " make me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from Thy presence," &c. ; then other words referring to the gift of Pentecost. After this follows the Epiclesis proper, the Deacon saying, " Lord bless the holy bread." Priest, making the sign of the Cross on the holy gifts, says : " and make this bread the very precious Body of Thy Christ"—S. Basil—"our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ." After the Invocation over the Chalice, SS. Basil and Chrysostom have, " changing them by Thy Holy Ghost." S. James' has

not. Then follows the usual petition for a worthy receiving, in slightly varying words.

7. The great Intercession in each of these Liturgies contains addresses to the Blessed Virgin of later date. S. James' Liturgy has the following remarkable words: "that the Lord our God, having received them," *i.e.*, the consecrated elements, "to His heavenly, intellectual, and spiritual altar, for the odour of a sweet-smelling sacrifice, would send down to us, in their stead, divine grace and the gift of the most Holy Ghost." The same prayer is in S. Chrysostom's, but not in S. Basil's Liturgy. One may compare with this the prayer which follows the words of Institution in the Roman Missal: "we humbly entreat Thee, O Almighty God, command these (*i.e.*, the holy gifts) to be carried up by the hands of Thy holy Angel to Thy sublime Altar in the presence of Thy Divine Majesty, that so many of us as shall be partakers of the Altar may receive the most sacred Body and Blood of Thy dear Son, may be filled with grace and heavenly benediction."

8. In the Liturgies of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom there is an ectene or prayer before the preface to the "Our Father." This preface is in each of the three; alike in S. Basil's and S. Chrysostom's, slightly varied in S. James'. The embolismus and the prayer, "Holy Lord, Who retest in the holies," are found in S. James' only: the "prayer of bowing down," a prayer for a worthy reception, is found in all with slight variations; the "Sancta Sanctis," or "holy things for holy persons," accompanied by the elevation, is in each. Some render these words "the holy things to the holies, or holy of holies," to signify that the holy things are

lifted up to Heaven. The *koinonicon*, an anthem answering to the Communion of the Latin Church, is in the Liturgies of SS. Basil and Chrysostom, not in S. James'. In the latter the Kyrie is repeated by the people twelve times. The fraction and commixture, with variations, are in each Liturgy; and in S. Basil's and S. Chrysostom's it is accompanied with these words: "the Lamb of God is broken and distributed; He that is broken and not divided asunder, ever eaten and not consumed, but sanctifying the communicants." In S. James' there are these words: "It has been united and sanctified and accomplished in the name," &c., and, signing the bread, the Priest says, "behold the Lamb of God," &c.; and when he distributes one part into each chalice, he says Psalms xxii., xxxiv., cxlv., and cxvii.; a benediction follows, and this anthem: "Oh, taste and see that the Lord is good; He that is broken and not divided, distributed to the faithful and not consumed; for the remission of their sins and eternal life, now, for ever, and to all ages."

10. The Communion follows with variations between S. James' and the other two. In S. Chrysostom's it is given thus: "the holy Deacon [or the servant] of God, is made partaker of the pure and holy Body and Blood," &c. In S. James' Liturgy, no words are given for the Communion. In S. Chrysostom's, before communion, warm water is poured into the chalice, while the Priest, blessing the water, says, "blessed is the fervour of Thy Saints always, now and ever, and to ages of ages;" and the Deacon, while pouring in the water in the form of a cross, says thrice, "the fervour of faith, full of the Holy Ghost. Amen." Priest communicates. Thanks-

giving, longer in S. James', and a special prayer in S. Basil's. In this Liturgy and S. Chrysostom's there is an address to S. Chrysostom. Dismissal by the Deacon, "from glory to glory advancing, we hymn Thee, the Saviour of our souls, glory, &c., . . . we hymn Thee, the Saviour of our souls." The Priest, as he goes from the Altar to the Sacristy, says, "from might to might advancing, and having accomplished all the Divine Liturgy in Thy Temple, we now also pray Thee vouchsafe to us Thy full mercy; rightly divide our paths; root us in Thy fear; and count us worthy of Thy Heavenly Kingdom."

The Armenian Liturgy.

Another important derivative of the Liturgy of S. James is the Armenian. There are traditions referring to SS. Thaddæus and Bartholomew as first Apostles of Armenia; but the conversion was not completed, nor the Church fully organised, until the time of S. Gregory, the Illuminator, who was really the Apostle of Armenia. He was by birth an Armenian, but received his theological instruction in Cæsarea, and was consecrated Bishop by Leontius, Exarch of that city. S. Basil, who succeeded Leontius in the Exarchate, established many Bishops in Armenia; and for a long time the chief Bishop of that country was consecrated by the Archbishop of Cæsarea. It would naturally follow because of this derivation from, and continued connection with, the Church of Cæsarea, that the Liturgy of this Church would be the use of the Churches of Armenia. The Liturgical use of Cæsarea was the Lit-

urgy of S. Basil, which has been described in the last chapter. During this period, up to the Council of Chalcedon (451), the Armenians were Catholics, in full communion with the Orthodox Church; and when, after their unhappy rejection of this Council, they became separate, they did not become heretical, even in a material sense, since their Liturgy underwent no modifications which could be charged with statements of false doctrine. Their refusal to receive this Council has been accounted for (a) by the circumstance that no Armenian Bishops were present at it; (b) that misrepresentations as to the proceedings of the Council were made to them; (c) that misconceptions arose on their part from the poverty of the Armenian language, which has only one term to express begetting and bringing forth, and in consequence the same word is used for "begotten of the Father" and "born of the Virgin."

Various efforts have been made from time to time, both by the Orthodox Eastern Church and by the Roman Catholic Church, to bring back these separated Christians into Catholic Communion. These efforts have had only a partial success. The efforts of the Roman Church have resulted in the formation of a uniat community. By this arrangement a certain degree of their ancient liberties and usages is permitted; but in all that is distinctly Roman in ritual or doctrine, the rigid hand of absolute authority compels them to conformity. Hence it is that, while a considerable portion of their Liturgy remains unchanged, the most crucial points, those affecting the consecration, are materially altered, in conformity to the prevailing Roman theory of consecration. This will be

more fully considered later on. The great bulk, however, of the Armenians have remained faithful to their Catholicos of Etchmiadzine and their ancient rites.

I. There is only one Liturgy used by the Armenians ; but there are various editions, which differ considerably one from another. My references will be to an edition published at Constantinople in 1823 by the authorities of the Armenian Church, translated into English by Mr Malan, and reprinted by Mr Hammond. Le Brun has See Malan, p also printed this Liturgy in French, with copious notes.

The service commences in the sacristy or vestry. See Hammon p. 132. The several ministers (priests and deacons) who are to assist the celebrant, each being habited according to his order, say Psalm cxxxii., with antiphon. The celebrant says privately a prayer of preparation. The vestments worn by the priest are—1st, the mitre ; 2nd, the albe ; 3rd, the stole ; 4th, the girdle ; 5th, the maniple on both hands ; 6th, the vagas (peculiar to the Armenian Church) ; and 7th, the chasuble.

II. The robing ended, the priest celebrant proceeds from the vestry to the church, the deacon going before with a lighted taper in one hand and a censer in the other, accompanied by the other clergy. They all place themselves in front of the holy table, *i.e.*, the credence, where the priest washes his hands, while he says, with the deacons, Psalm xxvi., with antiphon. The priest then makes his confession, and one of the clerks prays for his pardon and absolution. He then says a prayer of absolution over the people, and the clerks say, "remember us before the Immortal Lamb of God," and the celebrant replies, "ye are remembered," &c. Psalm c. is then said, a prayer follows, and then

Psalm xliiii. The curtain is here drawn round priest as he stands before the altar.

III. The Offertory comes next; but previously, prayers to the Holy Ghost, as the agent and penser of the work, are directed to be said by priest as he draws nigh to the table of offering, *i.e.*, the credence table, or side altar, on his knees and "his eyes streaming with tears," until "his heart penetrated with a lively confidence, through the contemplation of heavenly light." The priest then receives the bread from the deacon, and places it on the paten, saying, "memorial of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ," &c. Then taking the wine, he pours it carefully into the chalice, "in remembrance," &c. It follows a prayer of S. John Chrysostom, in which these words:

"Be pleased, O Lord, Thyself to bless this our Oblation. Receive it on Thy heavenly table. Remember, loving and beneficent as Thou art, both those who offer it to Thee and those for whom it is offered."

He covers the chalice with a veil, saying Psalm :
He then signs thrice over the Oblations on the credence table, saying, "Let the Holy Ghost come upon thee, and the power of the Highest overshadow thee."

Incense is offered, with the prayer: "send upon us in return the graces and gifts of the Holy Ghost." While saying this prayer, the priest leaves the credence table and comes to the altar, which he covers. The curtain is drawn aside, and the priest, waving the censur, descends into the middle of the church to bless the deacons. He censes the images and the congregation, while a hymn is sung. The priest ha

gone round the church, returns to the altar. It should be said that the Armenian churches have no iconostasis, or chancel screen : in this differing from all other Eastern churches.

IV. The Introit and other prayers with responses follow, ending with a prayer of S. Chrysostom, the same as at the end of our matins and evensong.

V. The Little Entrance, *i.e.*, the bringing in of the gospel, follows, preceded by its prayer, that the angels and archangels "may come among us and minister with us, and with us also praise Thy goodness." The priest kisses the holy table, the clerks sing three times the Trisagion during the procession, and the deacon holds the holy gospel above his head; and, returning, places it on the altar; the priest gives his blessing, and says privately the prayer of the Trisagion, in which are these words: "O Thou holy God, Who reposest among the saints;" the deacon's Litany comes next, and the priest, after an act of blessing, bows to the holy table and *sits on the steps*, which are at the side, not in front of the altar, while the clerks sing the Psalm appointed for the day. The lections of the prophets and evangelists follow.

VI. The Nicene Creed in the plural form, "We believe," &c., is said. Traducianism seems to be affirmed in the words, "of whom" (*viz.*, the Blessed Virgin) "He took body, soul, and mind, and everything that is in man." The article of the Holy Ghost has these words inserted, "uncreated and perfect." The anathema directed against those who deny or reject the truths of the Creed (which is found in many copies) is appended at the end. A short Litany is said

by the deacon, with responses by the clerks, and is concluded by a prayer and blessing said by the priest, while he makes the sign of the cross over the congregation.

The dismissal of the catechumens has place here. Afterwards the clerks sing: "the Body of the Lord and the Blood of the Saviour lie before you. The invisible powers sing unseen, and say, with uninterrupted voice, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts." The cherubic hymn follows, during which the deacon or archdeacon goes to the credence table and censes the chalice; he then takes the chalice, upon which the Bread rests covered with a veil; he raises it above his head, and walks slowly through the southern door towards the altar. If there be no deacon, the priest does this, otherwise he says a private prayer during this time. The Oblations are then placed on the altar, incense is burned, and the priest, washing his fingers, says: "I will wash my hands in innocency, O Lord." Then comes an exhortation by the deacon, the priest meanwhile "praying in silence with open arms." The kiss of peace follows.¹ The deacons, first "kissing the altar, and then each other, says, "Jesus Christ is among us;" and the priest, addressing the congregation, adds, "Jesus Christ hath appeared among us;" and this solemn greeting is repeated by all the people, as they greet one another in token of peace. During this time the clerks sing: "Christ shall be manifest among us; He that is the Being of God shall be raised up on high; the voice of peace has been heard; the command for the holy greeting has been given; enmity has been

¹ This is the reading given by Hammond and Malan.

removed, and love has been spread among us all." The deacon exclaims: "Christ, the Lamb of God, is offered in sacrifice."

VII. The Anaphora commences here with "the Grace, &c., Sursum Corda, Preface, Triumphal Hymn, and the Benedictus in the second person." In the private prayer, which the priest says in this place, are these words:

"For He it is Who distributes and is distributed among us, without ever being consumed. For having been made man, truly and not apparently, and having taken a body by union, without confusion, from the Mother of God and holy Virgin, He journeyed through life with all the passions of human existence, yet without sin: and of His free will walked to the cross, through which He gave life to the world and wrought salvation for us."

Malan well remarks: "there is no Eutychianism in this." The words of Institution follow, and are directed to be said aloud. In the Consecration prayer it is said that our Lord drank of the cup.

The Epiclesis is given in this form: "shed abroad upon us, and these Oblations which we now present, Thy Spirit . . . whereby Thou wilt make the bread, when blessed, truly the Body of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ." This is thrice repeated, and the deacon says after each, "Amen." The priest adds thrice in like manner: "and the Cup when blessed, the Blood of our Saviour," &c. He also adds thrice: "and whereby Thou wilt make the bread and wine when blessed the Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," to which the deacon again responds thrice, "Amen." In the edition of this Liturgy which Dr Neale has translated and published, the reading is: "bless this bread so as to

make it the Body," &c.; and so with the cup. The great Intercession follows, in which both the dead and the living are prayed for through the holy sacrifice lying on the altar: "through it grant," &c. There are many intercessions for the departed; among others: "we pray Thee also that in this holy Oblation remembrance be made of the Mother of God, the holy Virgin Mary," &c., to which the clerks respond: "Remember [them], O Lord, and have mercy."

Another Litany of the deacon follows, then the "Our Father," with a long preface and the embolismus.

A prayer of humble access comes next, followed by the Sancta Sanctis, thus translated by Malan: "Unto the Holiness of the Holy." An act of adoration or blessing is addressed to each Person of the Blessed Trinity. The priest then prostrates himself, kisses the holy table, and "taking the most holy Body, dips it whole in the precious Blood," while he says a prayer for worthy reception. Then raising it in the eyes of the congregation, he exclaims: "let us taste," &c. He repeatedly exhorts the people to sing psalms. The clerks also sing:

Malan, p. 45.

"Christ is sacrificed; is parted among us. Alleluia! He gives us His Body for food; He sprinkles His holy Blood over us. Alleluia! Draw near unto the Lord and take of His light. Alleluia!"

And while they sing this, the priest takes the "holy Body in his hands and kisses it with tears," saying a prayer of thanksgiving. The priest then makes his Communion on this wise: he takes one piece of the Bread in his hand, and says three rather long prayers; then he signs himself, and "requests of the true God the divers things he wishes for himself, the congrega-

tion, and the whole world ;" also " for the forgiveness of his own offenders, enemies, and of those that hate him ; and then, with fear and trembling, shall he taste of the Body and drink of the Cup." As he does this, he makes a thrice repeated act of faith, and then adds : " let Thine incorruptible Body be to me for life ; Thy holy Blood for the propitiation and forgiveness of my sins."

After the priest, the deacon communicates, and, the curtain having been drawn aside, he calls aloud to the congregation, and says : " draw near with fear and communicate in holiness ;" the clerks at the same time sing : " our God, our Lord hath appeared to us. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

The priest, after all have communicated, consumes what is left, making an act of thanksgiving at each. The Post-communion and Thanksgiving, the reading of S. John's Gospel as in the Latin rite, and the Dismissal conclude the whole.

CHAPTER V.

THE ALEXANDRIAN AND COPTIC LITURGIES.

THESE Liturgies form the second group or family according to the classification which I have adopted. It comprises, as already stated, the Greek Liturgy of S. Mark, which was the early Alexandrian use, and the Coptic Liturgies of S. Basil, S. Cyril, and S. Gregory Nazianzum. The Ethiopic is also of the same family. The Coptic Liturgies named were probably, at the earliest period, written in Greek; but they now form the use of the Coptic Jacobites. History attests that S. Mark founded the Church of Alexandria; and one cannot doubt that the holy Evangelist would give to the Church he founded the order of its Liturgy. But since Liturgies were probably not written until the fourth or fifth century, it is quite likely that this Liturgy was completed under the care and revision of S. Cyril, who was Bishop of Alexandria towards the end of the fourth century. This supposition entirely harmonises with the affirmation of Coptic writers, that S. Mark's Liturgy was "perfected by S. Cyril;" and in consequence this Liturgy has been called, indifferently by the names of S. Mark and S. Cyril. There are three codices of this Liturgy, lately published by Canon

Swainson. It bears a relation to the original Alexandrian Liturgy, similar to that which the existing S. James' bears to the Apostolic rite of the Patriarchate of Antioch and Jerusalem.

Mr Hammond founds an argument for the high antiquity of this Liturgy from certain MSS. containing quotations from the New Testament; and from expressions in some of the prayers which evidently point to a time when persecution was still likely. The following is an instance of quotation:—The Liturgy contains a reading from S. John's Gospel (xx. 22, 23) which is found in no existing Greek MS.; but two Egyptian versions have the reading. These versions must have been made from Greek MSS. which no longer exist. They are attributed to the second century by Bishop Lightfoot. This reading is supposed to have dropped out of the Greek MSS. before the fourth century, and therefore the prayers in which it is incorporated must have been composed not later than that time.

There are four points of difference between the Alexandrian family of Liturgies and that of Western Syria. Two of these this Liturgy contains; in other points it conforms to the Western Syrian use.

After the Council of Chalcedon a separation was made between the orthodox, who accepted this Council, and the followers of Eutyches, who rejected it. From this time the former fell very much under the influence of Constantinople, and their Liturgy underwent modifications, assimilating it to the Constantinopolitan rite. Greek, which was the original language of Alexandria, continued to be so, at least until the fourth and fifth centuries. SS. Basil, Cyril, and Gregory Nazianzum,

whose names are given to the three Coptic Liturgies, wrote in Greek ; but the people in the interior parts of Egypt, who bore the name of Copts, used the Coptic language in their ecclesiastical offices and Liturgies. These became followers of Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who rejected the Council of Chalcedon ; so that the term Copts came to mean the followers of Eutyches, or rather Jacobus Baradæus, a Syrian Monophysite Bishop, from whom they obtained the name of Jacobites. On the other hand, the orthodox were called Chalcedonians, from their acceptance of that Council, but more commonly Melchites or royalists, because they were supported by the Emperors.

I will first treat of the Liturgy of S. Mark in Greek, and then the two chief of the Coptic Liturgies, viz., those by SS. Basil and Cyril.

S. Mark's Liturgy.

1. It commences with this salutation by the priest : " Peace be with all," a response by the people, and the Kyrie.

2. Then follow the three collects—(a) for the Congregation, (b) the Emperor, (c) and the Patriarch, Bishop, and Clergy. After each collect the salutation, response, and Kyrie are repeated.

3. The Little Entrance, preceded by its prayer ; and the Trisagion, also preceded by its prayer.

4. The lections, two in number, viz., the Apostle or Epistle and the Gospel. The priest gives his blessing to the deacon, who is about to read the gospel ; he offers incense, and gives his blessing to the hearers of

the Gospel. The following is the prayer which accompanies the offering of incense :—

“We offer incense before Thy glory, O God: do Thou receive it to Thy holy and super-celestial altar: do Thou, in its stead, send down the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, for Thou art blessed, and do Thou send forth Thy glory.”

5. Then follow some general intercessions, including prayers for the Patriarch, the Bishop, and Clergy (the second time), and dismissal of catechumens.

6. The Cherubic Hymn, the great Entrance, *i.e.*, the bringing of the Elements from the table of Prothesis to the altar in a solemn procession, amid the genuflections and prostrations of the people; while the priest offers a prayer for his own sanctification, and to fit him to make the Oblation, commencing thus: “Holy Most High, terrible, Who resteth in the holies.”

7. The kiss of peace, with its prayer, follows. Incense is again offered with this prayer: “incense is offered to Thy name; let it ascend we pray Thee, out of the poor hands of us sinners, to Thy super-celestial altar, for a sweet-smelling savour for the propitiation of all Thy people,” &c. After the kiss of peace is concluded, the deacon says: “stand to make your offering according to your order.”

8. The Creed follows, said by the priest with a loud voice, while he signs with the cross the patens and the chalices. After this the deacon says: “Stand for prayer.” Priest: “Peace be with all.” Deacon: “Pray for them that offer.”

9. Next comes the “Prayer of the Offertory,” in which these words occur:

“Cause Thy face to shine upon this bread and upon these

chalices which the most holy Table receives, through the ministry of Angels and the surrounding choir of Archangels and the priestly hierarchy."

10. The Anaphora, beginning with *Dominus Vobiscum*, the *Sursum Corda*, and Preface. Between the Preface and Triumphal Hymn the Great Intercession for the living and the dead is interposed.¹

11. In the midst of the Intercession there is, interpolated, an address to the blessed Virgin. At the close the deacon says: "ye that are sitting stand up; and to the east." This is another specialty of this family.

12. The Triumphal Hymn comes next, followed by the words of Institution. Before the recital of these words, there is this prayer: "fulfil also, O God, this sacrifice with Thy heavenly blessing, by the coming down on it of Thy most Holy Ghost." After the words of Institution in both kinds, the people say, "Amen," and the deacon interposes the exhortation, "pray earnestly." Over the chalice the priest says: "He filled it with the Holy Ghost."

13. *The Prayer of the Great Oblation* is in these words:—"O Lord our God, we have set before Thee Thine own of Thine own gifts."

14. The prayer of the Epiclesis runs thus: "send down on us, and on these loaves, and on these cups, Thy Holy Ghost, that He may sanctify and perfect (τελειώσῃ) them as God Almighty, and make," &c. Then follows the usual prayer for the worthy receiving: "that they may be to all of us who participate in them for faith, for sobriety," &c.

¹ This arrangement is a peculiarity of this rite, as distinguished from the Western Syrian family.

15. The "Our Father" follows immediately, with a rather long and very beautiful preface; and the Embolismus, thus: "deliver us from the evil one make with the temptation a way to escape, that we may be able to bear it."

16. The prayer of "Humble Access" (Hammond), or of "Intense Adoration" (Neale), the "Sancta Sanctis," with Elevation, preceded by the prayer containing again the words, "Thou Who restest in the holies."

17. The Communion follows. The priest, first signing the people with the sign of the cross and saying Psalm cl., &c. When he Communicates, or gives the Communion to any one, he says: "the Body of the Lord;" and at the giving of the chalice: "the precious Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour."

18. Thanksgiving, dismissal, and a variation of the Apostolic benediction close the service.

The Coptic Liturgies.

It has been already said that these Liturgies are derived from S. Mark's. They possess a great similarity to their parent. Existing originally in Greek, they have been used in the Coptic language for a period, probably prior to the Council of Chalcedon, and certainly ever since. From the time of the invasion of Egypt by the Mahometans, Arabic gradually displaced the Coptic, and became the popular language of Egypt. And although the Liturgies continued to be used in Coptic, yet certain Arabic words are found in them; and some portions, as the lections, are translated into Arabic after they have first been read in Coptic.

S. Basil's is reckoned as the chief of these Liturgies, and is most frequently used; although S. Cyril's, as has already been remarked, corresponds most closely to S. Mark's. There is, as is usual in Eastern Liturgies, one pro-Anaphora for the three. The differences which exist are in the Anaphora. First, I will take the pro-Anaphora, which is common to the three. Le Brun has given a description of the Liturgy, including the preparation of the bread in the Chapel of the Prothesis, or at a side or credence table. Renaudot has translated into Latin the whole of the pro-Anaphora.

xl. ii. pp. 479
490.

xl. i. pp. 1-12.

We have—

I. The Preparation of the Bread. It must be leavened and made by the sacristan, while he says the seven Penitential Psalms; and must be made within the precincts of the church, and baked on the same day in which it is consecrated. The bread is called corban, and is round in shape, bearing on it the impression of twelve crosses, each enclosed within a square. The central cross is larger than the rest, and represents our Lord; the twelve smaller ones, the twelve Apostles. Some only of these breads are destined for the altar, *i.e.*, for consecration; the rest are blessed and distributed, as the Greek antidoron, after the mass.

II. The bread, thus prepared, and the wine are placed on a small table near the altar; the priest celebrant and his assistants habit themselves in the sacred vestments; while candles are lighted. It is ordered in many constitutions that the Liturgy may not be celebrated without two wax lights, great or small, burning at the altar.

III. The Liturgy commences with two prayers of

preparation, in the second of which the holy Sacrifice is called "the gift of Thy Holy Spirit." Next follows a prayer of thanksgiving, preceded by a prefatory exhortation. Then the offertory prayer, in which we read :

"Show Thy face upon this bread and upon this chalice, which we have placed upon this Thy sacerdotal table. Bless them and sanctify them, and consecrate them, and change (transfer) them ; so that the bread may be made or become (fiat) Thy holy Body, and this which is mixed in the chalice Thy precious Blood, that they may be (sint) to us all defence, medicine," &c.

Excepting that the Holy Ghost is not named as the consecrating agent, this prayer corresponds very closely to the Eastern form of the Epiclesis. On these words, so remarkable as occurring in this place, Le Brun Vol. II. p. 483. observes: "the Copts show by this prayer that they put bread and wine upon the altar for no other purpose than that they may be changed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; but they do not pretend that the change is made by this preparatory prayer. They fully believe that this does not take place until the words of Jesus Christ, 'This is,' &c., have been said and the Holy Ghost invoked."

After covering the paten and chalice with the veil, the priest says the "Prayer of Absolution to the Son," which contains these words :

"Who breathed upon the face of His holy disciples and holy apostles, saying to them, 'receive ye the Holy Ghost.' . . . Thou therefore, O Lord, by Thy holy Apostles, hath given grace to those who minister at all times in the priest's office in Thy holy Church, to forgive on earth the sins of those who are bound, and to loosen every chain of iniquity," &c.

In the Prayer of the Incense which follows, we have these words: "make us pure from all our sins which we have committed, voluntarily or involuntarily, and grant that we may offer before Thee this reasonable sacrifice, and the sacrifice of praise and spiritual incense."

IV. The Lections, which are four in number, come next.¹ These Lections are (a) the Apostle or Epistle of S. Paul, (b) the Catholicon or Catholic Epistle, (c) the Acts of the Apostles, and (d) the Gospel. Each lection is preceded by a prayer; and after the gospel another prayer is added for the profitable hearing thereof, that the hearers may bring forth a hundred, sixty, and thirty fold. A psalm for the day is said before the gospel, and the Trisagion is said thrice; there are repeated censings of the altar, the gospel, the sanctuary, and the clergy. The Little Entrance takes place when the psalm is finished. The deacon bearing the gospel, and the priest following, make a circuit around the altar, to "represent that the gospel should be preached throughout the world." Before the reading of the gospel the book is placed upon the altar, "to signify that the words which shall be read out of it have gone forth from the mouth of Jesus Christ." The priests kiss the opened book both before and after the reading; then it is closed and carried down the church for the people to kiss.

A bidding prayer, in Litany form, is said by deacon and priest.

V. "Prayer of the Veil," by the priest "standing at the

¹ It will be seen that in this particular the Coptic differs from S. Mark's Liturgy, which has only two lections.

side of the veil." It is said secretly, with "head inclined," and contains the words in our Prayer of Humble Access: "we trust, not in our righteousness, but in Thy mercy;" and the Eucharist is called "this fearful and unbloody sacrifice." Le Brun says: "it would seem that in this place the curtain was drawn to hide the sacrifice, and that the priest was there, as in the holy of holies, beyond the sight of the people." After this follow prayers for the patriarch, the bishops, priests, and the congregation. The Creed is said in the plural form. Two prayers follow, entitled, "Prayer of the Kiss of Peace," and the "Salutation to the Father." Vol. II., p. 4

VI. At this point the Anaphora commences, and in this portion of the Liturgy there are differences between that of S. Basil and S. Cyril, *i.e.*, S. Cyril follows the Alexandrine arrangement of the Great Intercession, placed between the Preface and Ter-Sanctus or Triumphal Hymn, while S. Basil's has the Western Syrian plan of placing it after the Consecration.

In S. Basil's the priest breaks the bread at the words of Institution; in S. Cyril's, as in other Eastern Liturgies, the fraction occurs after the Consecration, at the commixture and intinction. There is a second fraction in S. Basil's. In both, acts of faith on the part of the people are interposed during the Consecration, as "Amen, we believe in very truth," &c.; while in S. Cyril's are the words, "as often as ye shall eat of this bread and shall drink of this cup, ye declare My death and confess My resurrection, and make a Memorial of Me till I shall come." In the Epiclesis of S. Basil's are these words: "that He [the Holy Ghost] may make the bread the holy Body which is given for remis-

sion of sins and for life eternal to him who shall receive it." The like is said after the invocation on the chalice; and in the same prayer the gifts are called "Sancta Sanctorum." There is also the prayer—

"That we may be worthy of communicating in Thy holies for sanctification of [our] bodies, souls, and spirits, that we may become one body and one spirit, and obtain part and lot with all Thy saints who have pleased Thee from the beginning."

In S. Basil's the "Prayer of the fraction to the Father" has these words: "Thou Who hast sanctified these Oblations by the coming down upon them of Thy Holy Spirit." In the same prayer of S. Cyril's Liturgy we find those words: "vouchsafe to sanctify our souls, our bodies, our lips, and our hearts: and give us that live coal which imparts life to our souls, bodies, and spirits, which is the holy Body and the precious Blood of Thy Christ." In S. Basil's Epiclesis the prayer for the coming down of the Holy Ghost on the proposed gifts is addressed to God the Son. Before the Commemoration of the departed, as given in the same Liturgy, the assistant priest (*socius*) goes round the altar and censes it; he then "shall wash his hands, and wrap them up with a silk veil." Again, after the elevation and confession of faith, he is directed "to cover the holy Body with a silk veil, and to wrap up his hands with another;" the deacon is likewise ordered to cover the chalice with a silken veil. There is a beautiful prayer for the departed, which, though it occurs earlier, viz., in the Great Intercession, I will quote here:

"Remember, O Lord, all who have fallen asleep and are

at rest, both priests and laity: vouchsafe rest to their souls in the bosom of our holy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the green pastures by the waters of rest, in the Paradise of joy, in the place whence is banished sorrow and grief and sighing, in the light of Thy saints."

The commemoration of the departed contains also this prayer: "write our names with all the choirs of Thy saints in the kingdom of the heavens." The same Liturgy has this confession of faith at the elevation, which accompanies the "Sancta Sanctis:"

"The holy Body, the true, pure, precious Blood of Jesus Christ, Son of our God: this is in very truth the Body and Blood of Immanuel, our God. I believe, I believe, I believe and confess, until my last breath, that this is the life-giving Body of Thine Only-begotten Son and our Saviour, Jesus Christ: that which He received from our Lady, the Mother of God, the divine and holy Mary: and which He made one with His divinity, without confusion, commixture, or alteration."

There are elaborate fractions and intinctions. In the Prayer of Thanksgiving contained in S. Cyril's Liturgy, the words of S. Paul, "the Mystery hidden See Eph. iii. for ages and generations, but now manifest," are applied to the Holy Eucharist. The ablution of the holy vessels, thanksgiving, and the benediction conclude the Liturgy.

The Ethiopic Liturgies.

The Ethiopians, or Abyssinians, are said by Origen to have been converted by S. Matthew; but the authenticity of this statement is doubted. It is much more certain that Christianity was established and the Church

organised by Frumentius, a Tyrian, who was ordained and sent as bishop into Ethiopia by S. Athanasius. In consequence of their having received their first bishop from Alexandria, and in gratitude for the gift, the Ethiopian Christians ever after received their bishop from the Alexandrian Patriarch. He took the title of Metropolitan (commonly called Abuna), although he had no suffragans. This is an instance of the title of Metropolitan or Archbishop being conferred merely as a title of honour.¹ The bishop, chosen and consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria, naturally brought with him the Alexandrian rite into Ethiopia, which, with a few variations, has been ever since its Liturgical use.

When Dioscorus, Patriarch of that see, was condemned and deposed in the Council of Chalcedon, and subsequently became a leader of the Jacobite Monophysites, the Ethiopians still adhered to him, and thus cast in their lot with this sect, and have always received their bishop from the Jacobite Patriarch.

There are many Liturgies more or less in use in the Ethiopic Church, but the prevailing rite is that which is known as "the Universal Canon," or "Liturgy of all the Apostles." It is the first printed Liturgy of the Eastern Churches. It was printed in Rome in 1548. There is also an English translation made by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell from the same edition, and compared with an independent (but recent) MS. now in the British Museum. It is this version which we will now consider.

See Le Brun, vol. iii. p. 561.

¹ Canon Maclean authorises me to add that this is the common practice in Mesopotamia and Assyria for the bishops, Maronite as well as Roman Catholic, Syrian and Chaldean, to have the name *Matran* or Metropolitan, without suffragans.

1. There is first a preparation of the priest, consisting of a "responsorium," or versicles with responses.

2. Prayer for the Church and altar, another for the priest himself, others which are said as benedictions over the paten, chalice, cross-handled spoon, and disc or ark.

3. Prayer for the acceptance of the offerings of the people (1st Oblation).

4. Prayer at the mixture of wine and water, in which there is this: "fill Thou this wine with rejoicing and gladness, for good and life and salvation." After this the priest says: "one Holy Father, one Holy Son, one Holy Ghost," with an ascription of praise.

There are short directions by the deacon and responses by priest and people, and a prayer of thanksgiving. Then a prayer for the people, and another for "those who bring offerings," which are described as "oblations, first fruits, tythes, thank-offerings, commemorations," &c. We have next the prayer of the mystical oblation, which is the offertory; and in this and most other Eastern Liturgies this is the second Oblation, in which we read:

"Shew the light of Thy countenance upon this bread and upon this cup, which we place upon this, Thy spiritual altar. Bless them, sanctify them, and purify them; and change this bread that it may become (fiat) Thy pure Body, and that which is commingled in this cup Thy precious Blood; and that they may ascend for healing to the salvation of our souls and bodies."

Rodwell's
Ethiopic Liturg.
and Hymns

In Renaudot's translation the last clause reads: "and that they may become or be made (fiat) to us all an oblation for healing and for the salvation of our souls." I would refer the reader to the very similar prayer in

Vol. i. p. 4

the Coptic Liturgy, which is found in the same place, and is given on p. 105, with Le Brun's remarks thereon. It is one of many proofs of the derivation of this Liturgy from the Coptic, and of its close resemblance to it.

Next we have—

5. Prayer of "Absolution to the Son," as in the Coptic, but longer and more particular; Prayer of Incense; brief commemorations of the Church, the Patriarch (*i.e.*, of Alexandria), the King, the faithful departed, and the congregation. Then comes a "blessing of peace," in which the blessed Virgin is called the "golden censer which did bare the coal of living fire;" and also these words are there: "blessed is he who receiveth, out of the sanctuary, Him who forgiveth sins and blotteth out transgressions, even God, the Word, who took flesh," &c.

6. The lections follow, four in number, as in the Coptic—(*a*) of S. Paul, (*b*) the "Apostle," taken from the Catholic Epistles, (*c*) the Acts of the Apostles, (*d*) the holy Gospel. These lections are interspersed with prayers and salutations by the priest, deacon, and people: incense is used; and after the reading of the gospel, there is an ascription of praise, very similar to the Ter-Sanctus. After S. Paul's Epistle is read, there is this address to the Apostle:—

"Holy Paul! Apostle! kind messenger! healer of the sick! thou hast received the crown! pray and intercede for us, that our souls may be saved for the multitude of His mercy; for His holy name's sake."

There are intercessions after the gospel, and then the Creed is said in the plural form.

7. An apparent dismissal of communicants follows. It

is in this form, "Ye who do not communicate, go forth." This, taken by itself, might seem to form a precedent to a modern Anglican custom, utterly unknown elsewhere, and unsanctioned by the English Liturgy, of practically directing those who do not intend, at the time, to communicate, to leave the church before the prayer for the Church Militant. But on these words Mr Hammond has this note :—

"The non-communicants must be *penitents*, those who had not the right of communicating. A retirement of the 'faithful' is not (so far as I am aware) recognised in any other ancient Liturgy. All the faithful are assumed to be communicating."

The "Kiss of Peace" and its prayer follows.

8. The Anaphora. The priest says :—"The Lord be with you," and "Holy among the holies" (thrice). Then comes the Great Intercession, after the manner of SS. Mark and Cyril; followed by the Preface and Triumphal Hymn, without the *Dominus Vobiscum* and *Sursum Corda*. This hymn varies slightly from the ordinary form.

9. The sacramental elements are censed; and the words of institution, preceded by a brief recitation of the work of redemption, follow. The Great Oblation and the Epiclesis come in their proper place, but are more brief than in most other Liturgies. The *Qui Venit* comes here, not its usual place, in slightly altered form.

After the prayers of the Fraction, and of Humble Access, are these words, said by the sub-deacon and people :—

"The hosts of the angels of the Saviour of the world stand

before and environ the Body and the Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Let us therefore come into His presence and adore Christ, with faith."

10. Then follows the Prayer of Penitence, called also "Prayer of Absolution to the Father," the Sancta Sanctis, and Acts of Faith. The latter are as follows :—

"For this is the Body and Blood of Immanuel, our very God. I believe, I believe, I believe from this time forth and for ever, Amen. For this is the Body and Blood of our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, which he took from the Lady of us all, the holy and pure Virgin, and made it one with the Godhead, without commixture or confusion. I believe, I believe, I believe that the Deity was not divided from the manhood, for one hour, or the twinkling of an eye. I believe, I believe, I believe from henceforth and for ever, Amen."

11. The Communion follows, and in communicating, the priest says of the one species, "This is the bread which came down from heaven, the precious Body of Immanuel, our very God;" and the deacon, administering the chalice, says—"this is the cup of life which hath come down from heaven, the precious Blood of Christ."

12. The Post-Communion, which follows, contains an intercession for the communicants, an exhortation to thanksgiving by the deacon, and first verse of Psalm cxlv., the "Our Father" by the people, collect by the priest, and benediction.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EASTERN SYRIAN LITURGIES.

THESE Liturgies form the third group or family, according to the arrangement adopted. They are called Eastern Syrian because they exist and are in use in the Syrian language; although they are found in Kurdistan, Persia, and the plains of the Mosul. The Abbé Orig. du Cult.
p. 67. Duchesne says: "there is no doubt that the Churches of Mesopotamia and of Persia were formed by missionaries from Antioch." The name Nestorian is given to these Christians and to their liturgical books. But though they are identified, by name, with Nestorius, and took his part in the controversy, and adopted some of his technical terms, it is doubtful whether they really and intelligently hold the error which he taught. One of the chief abettors of this error was Theodore of Mopsuestia, who, from his voluminous writings, chiefly commentaries, acquired the name of "Interpreter."

There are three known Liturgies in use among these Eastern christians which bear the names of (*a*) the Liturgy of the Apostles Adæus and Maris, (*b*) the Liturgy of Theodore the Interpreter, (*c*) the Liturgy of Nestorius. The Malabar Liturgy also belongs to this group.

Mar Adæus is believed by the Nestorians to have been one of the Seventy, and Mar Maris his disciple and companion. The word "apostle" does not here apply to the Twelve, but to apostolic men or first missionaries who converted the country. There is no certitude that the other two Liturgies were compiled by those whose name they bear. Certainly there is nothing to connect Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, with Eastern Syria. It is far more probable that it was composed by some Eastern Syrian bishop, who had before him the Liturgy of Constantinople, which Nestorius used. This will account for one marked feature of the Constantinopolitan rite which this Liturgy contains. The "Liturgy of the Apostles" is probably the primitive East Syrian Liturgy brought into the country by Mar Adæus, Mar Maris, or other apostolic missionaries. In such case it would represent the apostolic form, translated into Syriac. From the simplicity of its style, its freedom from any taint of Nestorianism, as well as on traditional grounds, it is held to be of great antiquity; certainly of a date anterior to the Council of Ephesus. Dr Neale goes so far as to say, "it is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the many formularies of the Christian sacrifice." This remark, however, cannot apply, nor would, I believe, the learned writer intend it to apply, to the Liturgy as a whole. It has apparently undergone some modifications, and it certainly presents one very grave omission, viz. the words of Institution; while the exact words of the Epiiclesis differ from all the best known and principal Eastern Liturgies. These points will be dealt with further on.

The grounds for attaching the Malabar Liturgy to

this group rest on (*a*) its close conformity to the Eastern Syrian type, and (*b*) on the fact that the Nestorian christians carried the Gospel and founded Churches, not only in China, but also in India. The church in Malabar, known by the name of S. Thomas, was in all probability founded by missionaries from this community, and in that case would naturally receive their Liturgy.

These Christians existed along the western coast of Malabar, in possession of a complete hierarchy dependent on the Catholicos of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. This was their ecclesiastical position when the Portuguese arrived in India about 1500. The Portuguese discovered that the Liturgy and other rites of these christians differed considerably from those of the Western Church, and at once endeavoured to bring them to adopt the Latin rites, and to submit to the Roman obedience. A mission was organised, chiefly by the Jesuits, and was carried on with varying success. At length, under the influence of Menezes, the Latin Archbishop of Goa, and the Synod of Diamper (1599), over which he presided, the original Liturgy of the Church of Malabar received grave modifications. Subsequently a large number of those christians, who had been united to the Roman Church under the name of "uniats," broke away and returned to their former ecclesiastical position, excepting in this, that, after having sought in vain to obtain a Bishop from the Church of the East, they received one from the Syrian Patriarch, and, with the Bishop, the Jacobite rites.

LITURGY OF THE APOSTLES ADÆUS AND MARIS.

I. Commences thus :—

“In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever, glory to God in the highest” (thrice repeated) “and on earth peace and good hope to mankind, at all times, and for ever and ever.”

II. The Our Father forced, *i.e.*, interpolated with sentences taken from elsewhere.

III. A prayer for grace to minister worthily, followed by certain psalms, called the Mormitha.

IV. Anthem of the Sanctuary, preceded by its prayer. Another follows in which we find—

“Thy servants look for life and continual benefits in our Saviour, and take refuge in faith, hiding themselves under the wings of the cross. Keep by Thy clemency the company of Thy worshippers, and complete in them the promise which Thou gavest in Thy Gospel to those who loved Thee, saying ‘he that believeth in Me doth inherit the Kingdom and live for ever.’”

Prayers for Sundays and Festivals, followed by the Trisagion amplified or extended.

V. The Lections follow, three in number—(a) from the Old Testament or Acts of the Apostles; (b) from S. Paul’s Epistles, called the Apostle; (c) the Gospel.¹

¹ Dr Neale has these remarks on the three Lections : “the Nestorian Church has retained the ancient use of a *Prophecy*, as did the Greek Liturgy of S. James ; . . . as did also the Gallican Liturgy ; as does also the Mozarabic ; as did the African ; and as the Apostolic Canons enjoin. . . . This was also the use of the Ambrosian rite, and still is during Lent.” The learned writer might have added that it is also used on Sundays and festivals.

Before the Epistle and Gospel the Turgama, a sort of introduction or preface, is used. The Zumara, consisting of verses taken from the psalms, similar to the Gradual in the Roman Liturgy, and the Prokeimenon of the Greek; only that the latter is said before the Epistle and the other two before the Gospel. Prayers for grace to hear profitably, and ascriptions of praise, are interposed between the Lections. After the Gospel comes the Karuzutha, answering to the Greek Ectene, in which there are memorials of the Blessed Virgin and other saints; and during this the "Anthem of the Gospel" is sung.

VI. Then the priest and deacon both go, the deacon to take the censer, and the priest to cense the paten.¹

The priest then takes the paten, and goes and places the hosts on it, according to his discretion, and puts it in the treasury (a recess in the north wall of the sanctuary), until the Karuzutha is finished. A short prayer comes next, and then the prayer of "the imposition of hands." This is followed by the dismissal of the catechumens.

The priest then puts the "sacraments" on the altar (*i.e.*, the elements in both kinds) while this anthem is said: "the Body of Christ and His precious Blood are upon the holy Altar: let us therefore come before Him in fear and love, and with the Angels, sing unto Him, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts." This is repeated.

The priest takes the paten and chalice with crossed hands, and says this prayer: "may Christ who was sacrificed for us, and Who commands us to make

¹ Incense is used throughout the service, one of the deacons always swinging the censer.

memorial of His death, and burial, and resurrection, receive this memorial at our hands by His grace and mercy for us.”¹ He shakes the chalice and the paten together three times and says: “according to Thy commandment, our Lord and our God, the glorious, holy, life-giving sacraments are placed and arranged on the absolving altar until the second coming of our Lord from Heaven, to Whom we sing,” &c. He arranges the “sacraments” on the altar and covers them carefully with a veil. The priest and the deacon go out to the nave; the priest gives the cross and the gospel to the deacon and says: “may Christ our Lord make you fit to meet Him with open face.” The veil is drawn and the priest begins the “Anthem of the Sacrament” for the day. This corresponds to the prayer of the Veil, and in it there is reference to “the holy of holies which Moses made;” and, by way of contrast, to “Heaven which Christ has entered to exercise His priesthood,” &c. While this is said the veil is drawn aside. The priest goes down and gives the peace to the people. Returning to the door of the Sanctuary, he says: “with our hearts sprinkled from evil thoughts, may we be worthy to enter the high and exalted holy of holies; and purely and circumspectly in holiness stand before Thy holy altar and offer Thee spiritual and reasonable sacrifices with true faith.”

The Creed; and after this the Lavabo.²

¹ It is noteworthy that here the Memorial of Christ's Sacrifice is offered to Himself.

² The priest goes for this purpose into the Baptistry, which is also a vestry, on the north side of the Sanctuary. If water, except as mixed with wine, is brought into the Sanctuary, the church, by a rubric in the service for the consecration of Churches, must go through a lesser consecration.—Note to the translation of Canon MacLean.

A Karazutha or Ectene follows, in which are these words: "may this offering be received with openness of face, and *hallowed by the word of God, and by the Holy Ghost.*"

Several prayers for worthiness to offer, and for God's acceptance of the sacrifice, are said by priest and people. There are oft-repeated crossings, bowings, genuflections, and kissings of the altar and the elements.

The priest stands up and lifts the veil from the sacraments, and folds it round the sides of the chalice and paten, saying: "inasmuch as Thou, O Lord, hast made me worthy, by Thy grace, of Thy Body and Blood, even so make me worthy of openness of face before Thee in the day of judgment. Amen." In the prayer of incense, which follows this petition, this is said: "O Lord our God, may the pleasant savour which we offer to Thee, before Thy holy altar, in Thy glorious temple, be acceptable to Thee, and may it be for the joy of Thy holy Name, and for the absolution of Thy servants and Thy flock."

VIII. The Anaphora commences here with the apostolic benediction, followed by, "lift up your minds," to which the answer is, "unto Thee, O God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, O glorious King." The priest proceeds thus: "the offering is being offered to God, the Lord of all." The answer, "It is meet and right." Deacon interposes: "Peace be with us." Priest says a prayer and rises, kisses the altar, genuflects, "and, stretching out his hands in due order," says the Preface, followed by the Triumphal Hymn and Hosanna, &c.; and "each time they cry Holy the priest genuflects before the altar," then kneels and says a prayer called the

Kurshaka, in which occur these words: "woe, woe is me, for I am confounded: for I am a man of unclean lips, and dwell among a people of unclean lips, and my eyes have seen the King, the mighty Lord. How dreadful is this place; for this day, eye to eye, I have seen the Lord. This is none other than the house of God: this is the gate of heaven. . . . Purify our uncleanness, sanctify our lips, and mingle, O my Lord, the voices of our weakness and the Holy of the seraphim and the Hallelujah of the angels." The Great Intercession follows, and is much shorter than is usual in Eastern Liturgies; the great Oblation, also very brief, and the Epiclesis. The latter is in this form: "Let Thy Holy Spirit come and rest upon this offering of Thy servants, and bless and hallow it, that it may be (effectual) in us for absolution," &c.¹

¹ Though these words are certainly less emphatic than those commonly found in the Eastern Liturgies, especially in those which are best known and most generally used, there can be no reasonable doubt that the intention is the same in all, viz. (a) that the Holy Ghost would by His descent upon the elements accomplish the sacramental change by which the creatures of bread and wine become the Body and Blood of Christ; and (b) that by His benediction they may be for pardon and sanctification to such as should receive them. I add Rénaudot's remarks on this point: "This (liturgy) contains the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the offered gifts, and almost in the same words in which it is expressed in other Greek and Oriental Liturgies, except that the latter part, in which it is said, 'and make verily this bread the Body of Christ, and that which is in the chalice the Blood of Christ,' is not added. But these words, that He would bless and sanctify this Oblation, have the same force." This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the other two Liturgies, viz. those of Nestorius and Theodore, have, besides the words contained in the Liturgy of the Apostles, these—(Nestorius) "Make this bread and this cup the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Change them

Then follows "The order of censings and breaking." The priest censes his hands and face, saying, "O Lord our God, sweeten the odour of our pollution with the fragrance of Thy love, and wash us therewith from the defilement of sin." The priest folds his hands on his breast in the form of a cross, and kisses the altar three times. He then takes the uppermost loaf which is in the middle of the paten, and after an ascription of praise to our Lord, he adds:—

"For Thou art the living and life-giving bread which came down from heaven and giveth life to all the whole world, so that they that eat of it die not, and they who receive of it are saved and absolved and live by it for ever. Amen."

He kisses the loaf in the form of a cross, "not bringing it to his lips but figuratively, . . . saying: Glory ^{See 2 Cor. ix. 15.} be to Thee, O my Lord (thrice), for Thy unspeakable gift towards us for ever." He breaks the loaf with his hands skilfully, and with the half he signs the blood in the chalice from east to west and north to south, and a third part of the half which is in his right hand he dips into the chalice while he says: "the precious Blood is signed with the life-giving Body of our Lord Jesus Christ; in the name," &c. There are other minute and repeated intinctions and signings. While the priest blesses the deacons he says, "may Christ receive thy service; may Christ illuminate thy face; may Christ keep thy life; may Christ nourish thy youth."

by the operation of the Holy Ghost." (Theodore) "Sealing them with the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that through the might of Thy Name this bread may become the precious Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and this cup the precious Blood."

He unwraps the veil which was folded around the paten and chalice, repeating an ascription of praise to our Lord. The Apostolic benediction is repeated. There are exhortations by the deacon and responses by the people. In the preface to the "Our Father," there is this prayer: "may our tongues preach Thy truth, and may Thy cross be the keeper of our souls, while we make our mouths into new harps and speak new language with enlightened lips." The embolismus comes before the doxology. The Sancta Sanctis follows. Then the priest takes the hand of the deacon and places it on the chalice, saying: "may the grace of the Holy Spirit be with thee and with us and with those who receive (this chalice), in the kingdom of heaven for ever and ever. Amen." Deacon answers: "with thee and with us and with those who receive, in the kingdom of heaven." Another deacon comes before the priest and says: "let us pray: peace be with us." The priest, seeing him, puts on him a veil and places the paten in his arms, saying: "may the divine grace be with thee and with those who receive, for ever and ever." An antiphon is said thus:—

"My brethren, receive the Body of the Son, saith the Church, and drink His chalice in faith in the Kingdom." A beautiful prayer—"Make worthy the mouths which have sung Alleluia in the Holy Place to sing and glorify Thee: let not the ears which have heard the voice of Thy praise, O Lord, hear a voice of confusion: let the eyes which have seen Thy great clemency see also Thy blessed hope: cause the tongues which have cried Holy to speak the truth: make the feet which have walked in the churches, walk in a place of light: renew the bodies which have eaten Thy living Body with new life."

The practice of Reservation is indicated in this rubric. "When the people have taken the holy things the priest returns the vessels, with the sacraments, to their place." In response to an exhortation to thanksgiving, the people say, "Glory to Him for His unspeakable gift."

The Malabar Liturgy.

I will now give some account of the Malabar Liturgy, and will take as my text an English translation published by Dr Neale in his *Translations of Primitive Liturgies*, and a Latin translation by Le Brun in the third volume of his *Explication de la Messe*. It commences with the short form of the Gloria in Excelsis, as contained in the Gospels. This is followed by the Our Father, farced, *i.e.* interpolated with portions of the Ter-sanctus or Triumphal hymn.

After a short prayer by the Priest for worthiness to minister, the priest and deacon say alternately the xv., cl., and cxvii. Psalms. Le Brun gives Ps. xv. only. Some prayers of adoration and a prayer of incense come next, succeeded by the Trisagion. Then the deacon says a long ectene, or general intercession, which contains this petition for the departed :

"Let us remember also our fathers and our brethren who have departed out of this world in the orthodox faith : let us pray to the Lord that He may absolve them from their offences, and may vouchsafe that they, with all the just and righteous men who have obeyed the divine will, may rejoice for ever and ever."

Then the priest censes the paten, the veil, and

the chalice. While censuring the veil he says, "Lord our God, cause this veil to have a sweet savour, after the fashion of the mantle wherewith Elias clothed * * himself."

At the mixture of wine and water these words are used: "let the precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be mingled in the chalice." When the priest pours in water, he uses the words of S. John's Gospel: "one of the soldiers came," &c. Again pouring in wine, he says:

"Let water be mingled with wine, and wine with water, in the name, &c. * * * Expecting I expected the Lord, the Body of Christ and His precious Blood on the holy altar. Let us all offer it with fear and honour, and with the Angels let us exclaim, Holy, Holy, Holy is our Lord God."

The deacon adds:

"The 'poor' shall eat and be satisfied with the Body of Christ and His precious Blood upon the altar: let us all offer it with fear and honour, and with angels let us exclaim, Holy, Holy, Holy is our Lord God."

Here follows a singular prayer that "Christ, Who was offered as an oblation for our salvation, and commanded us to sacrifice in memory of His Passion, would Himself receive this sacrifice." The gifts are placed on the altar with silent prayer. The priest, while covering the oblations, says:

"Thou coverest Thyself with light as with a garment, and stretchest out the heavens like a curtain, now and ever."

While the priest washes his hands, the deacon and people say a short Litany. After this the deacon bids the people bow down their heads, and the priest says

a prayer of benediction. The expulsion of catechumens is then made, in which not only the unbaptized are bidden to depart, but also those who have not received the "seal of life," i.e. confirmation. The Lections come after. This is a different place from that in which they are found in the other Nestorian and most of the Eastern Liturgies, as well as in those of the West; in all these the Lections are placed before the dismissal of the catechumens; albeit in some of the Syrian (as the Syriac S. James) and Coptic Liturgies (SS. Cyril and Basil) the bread and wine were prepared and offered on the altar before the Lections were read.

Before the Epistle is read the priest says: "Christ bless thee;" and after the choir say "Glory be to Thee, O Lord."

Before the Gospel, the priest prays for holy wisdom, and gives glory to God; and then the choir say, "Glory to Christ the Lord." The Creed comes next, in the plural form, viz. "We believe," &c.; then follows an exhortation by the deacon, in which he exhorts the faithful to pray that "this oblation may be confidently received for all the faithful departed;" and that "*by the Word of God and the Holy Ghost it may be consecrated and be to us for help.*" We have here another witness to the belief of the Eastern Church, which was also for a long period the belief of the West, that the factors in the consecration are Christ's words and the Holy Ghost; as we read in the Scottish Liturgy, "by Thy Word and Holy Spirit." The priest then censures those who are on the right of the altar and says to them: "bless, my Lord, and pray for me, my fathers and my brethren

and my masters, that this oblation may be consecrated by my hands;" and "they with the deacon pray accordingly."

The priest, bowing down before the altar, says:—

"By Thy ineffable grace, consecrate this great sacrifice and bestow upon it virtue and power, that it may abolish our many sins; and when at the latter day Thou appearest in the human body, which thou didst assume of our race, we may find before Thee grace and love."

After another prayer the Pax is given. Then follow other two prayers by the priest and an exhortation by the deacon, in which he admonishes the people to "cast their eyes down to the ground, and vigilantly take care to raise their minds to heaven, and that none should speak, and that he that prayeth should pray mentally while he remaineth in silence and fear."

The Anaphora commences here, with the usual apostolic benediction, and the *Sursum Corda* as in the Liturgy of the Apostles; not as in the fuller form in which it is found in the Liturgies of Nestorius and Theodore; from which Dr Neale infers that this Liturgy is more ancient than they. There is the Triumphal hymn, preceded by its preface, slightly varied. In the prayer which follows there is a close similarity to that which has the same place in the Liturgy of the Apostles, *e.g.*, "mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts. How terrible is this place to-day, in which face to face the Lord is seen." There is some uncertainty as to the position of the words of Institution in this Liturgy. As it was revised in the Synod of Diamper, these words are placed after the Invocation, solely to favour the prevailing Roman theory of consecration; but in the Lit-

urgies of Nestorius and Theodore, as we have seen, they are in the usual place, viz., before the Invocation ; and Dr Neale has therefore, in his translation, put them in their proper place in this Liturgy. The Epiclesis or Invocation, as given by Dr Neale and Le Brun, runs thus :—

“ Send them, my Lord, Thy Holy Spirit, and let Him rest upon this oblation of Thy servants, and sanctify it, that it may be to us, my Lord, for the payment of our debts, and remission of our sins,” &c.

The words here used certainly differ from those which are commonly found in this place, and bear the appearance of having been tampered with by the Portuguese (*i.e.* Roman) authorities.

There are antiphons by the deacon and choir, in which we find these words :

“ Isaiah kissed the kindled coal and his lips were not burnt, but his iniquity was pardoned ; mortals in this very bread receive fire, and it guards their bodies and burns out their sins.”

And again the deacon says :

“ From everlasting to everlasting ; the altar is fire in fire ; fire surrounds it ; let priests beware of the terrible and tremendous fire, lest they should fall into it and be burnt for ever.”

The priest says : “ Glory be to Thee, my Lord, glory to Thee, my Lord, for thine unspeakable gift ; ” and while the priest “ elevates the Body and Blood,” the deacon and choir sing alternately. Deacon :

“ I am the living Bread which came down from heaven, I am the Bread which descended from on high, says our Saviour in mystery to His disciples ; everyone who

approacheth in love and receives Me shall live for ever, and shall obtain, by inheritance, the kingdom."

Choir :

"The ministers who do His will, cherubim and seraphim, and archangels, stand with fear and trembling before the altar and behold the priest when he breaks and divides the Body of Christ for the propitiation of sin."

After this, the fraction, intinction, and consignation follow. There are ascriptions of praise; the apostolic benediction is repeated; an exhortation by the deacon to approach worthily; and a prayer for pardon and worthy receiving is said by the priest. In the deacon's exhortation are these words: "He offered the firstfruits of our nature as a sacrifice on the cross." The "Our Father," with its preface and embolismus and the Sancta Sanctis follow. Before his communion the priest says :

"Lord I am not worthy, nor is it indeed meet, that I should receive Thy Body and Blood of propitiation, nor should I touch them, but let Thy words sanctify my soul and heal my body, in the name," &c.

The deacon meanwhile sings :

"Let this oblation be received in the heavenly places, together with that which Abel, Noah, and Abraham, offered to the heavenly kingdom."

While the people communicate, the deacon says a beautiful prayer, including these words :

"Grant, moreover, my Lord, that the ears which have heard the voice of Thy songs may never hear the voice of clamour and dispute. Grant also that the eyes which have seen Thy great love may also behold Thy blessed hope; that the tongues which have sung the Sanctus may speak the truth; grant that the feet which have walked in the Church

may walk in the region of light; that the bodies which have tasted Thy living Body may be restored in newness of life."

After the Communion an act of praise and thanksgiving is made, and the "Our Father" is said by all, without preface or embolismus. This is the third time of its use in this Liturgy; an occurrence so unusual that I do not know that it has any parallel in any other Liturgy. A long and remarkable benediction by the priest concludes the whole.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

IN the preceding chapters I have reviewed the origin, history, and structure of Liturgies. First I have endeavoured to trace out in the New Testament certain Liturgical features, viz. words, phrases, or ritual acts, and to show that these are found in the most ancient Liturgies, and are referred to by some of the earliest Christian writers; and I have drawn thence an argument that these words, phrases, or acts were portions of the Liturgy or Liturgies used by the Apostles. I will enumerate them in the order in which they occur in the Liturgies.

pp. 20, 28, 38. I. The Lections, two from the New Testament, sometimes one from the old. The latter was called the Prophecy, the others the Apostle and the Gospel. The two New Testament Lections are referred to by S. Paul, the other by Justin Martyr.

3. II. The Collection of Alms. Justin Martyr tells us this was a custom in the early Apostolic Assemblies. It is not prominent in the Liturgies as we now possess them.

24, 49, 70. III. The Gloria in Excelsis, as recorded in the Gospels. This is found in S. James, the East Syrian Liturgies, and is referred to by S. Chrysostom.

IV. The sermon or exhortation.

V. Psalms; found in all Liturgies, from S. James downwards. p. 24.
See Justin
Martyr, &c., p. 28.

VI. The Prayer of the Veil, in S. James', Greek and Syriac, and the Coptic. pp. 22, 70, 78,
and 106.

VII. The Apostolic Benediction occurs in all the chief Liturgies.

VIII. Dominus Vobiscum is really included in the Apostolic Benediction, but it was used by itself at different times, probably more commonly in the West than in the East.

IX. The pax vobis and osculum pacis is in all the chief Liturgies. It is spoken of by S. Cyril and Origen, and is mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions. See Krazer, p.
399.
pp. 37, 40, 43.

X. The Triumphal Hymn. This is a universal liturgical feature, and is mentioned by S. Cyril. It was commonly followed by "blessed be He who cometh * * * and Hosanna." pp. 70, 78, 95.

XI. The consecration formula, including (a) the words of Institution, (b) the great Oblation, (c) the Epiclesis. These are found in all Eastern Liturgies, and are included in the accounts of the institution of the Eucharist given in the Synoptic Gospels. I shall treat of this more fully further on.

XII. The Eucharistic *Amen* found in all Liturgies, and commonly said by the people as an act of faith, often accompanied by confessions of belief. pp. 71, 72, 95,
102, and 107.

XIII. The fraction, which was placed some while after the consecration, and usually connected with the commixture. pp. 73, 79, 88,
and 109.

XIV. The Communion in both kinds; generally given by intinction, and by means of a spoon.

XV. "A place set apart," whether in private houses, catacombs, or some other hidden resort.

Further, I have noted the following Liturgical observances, which though not claiming scriptural reference, may fairly be regarded as of high antiquity.

89, 77, 94,
101.

I. The Dismissal of Catechumens. This formula is in all the most ancient Liturgies; and would naturally have place in the public services, so soon as the Church had time to gather any considerable number of converts as Catechumens, preparatory to Baptism.

1.

II. The mixed chalice, which was, beyond all reasonable doubt, that which our Lord and His Apostles used. We find in the consecration prayer of S. James these words: "He mixed it with wine and water," &c. In fact, all have this usage, except the Armenians.

III. The solemn oblation of the elements, while they are simply bread and wine.

I shall refer to this hereafter.

1.

IV. The Lavabo, or the washing of the priest's fingers before the consecration. This rite is described by S. Cyril; and is prescribed in the Armenian Liturgy; and was probably derived from Jewish practice.

70, 78, 95,
102.

V. The Sursum Corda is, with some slight variations, in all Liturgies.

VI. Prayers for the departed. I will treat this point more fully later on.

Antiq. eccl.
ident. p. 379.

VII. The Kyrie Eleison, often called the Shorter Litany. Krazer has this remark concerning this formula: "There is no prayer more ancient than this, none more frequently found in the Gospel, none of more frequent use in Liturgies among all nations." In S. James', it is said by the people.

VIII. The sign of the cross, in signing both the people and the gifts, is a universal Liturgical use in the earliest Liturgies, as S. James', Greek and Syriac, and the Armenian. In the later Liturgies, its use is so often repeated and the rubrics are so minute, as to render it tedious and perplexing.

See Letter of James of Edesa p. 55.

IX. The "Our Father," with its preface and embolismus, is a universal use.

X. The commixture which follows the fraction. This has been already spoken of, as in all Liturgies.

S. Mark, the Coptic.

XI. The Sancta Sanctis and elevation. This, in the Eastern Liturgies, corresponds to the elevation made at the fraction in Western Liturgies.

XII. Incense. The liturgical use of incense is primitive and prevalent. It is of apostolical tradition, and derived most probably from the example, divinely given, in the Mosaic Law. It is used in the Liturgies of S. James, Greek and Syriac, the Armenian, S. Mark, the Coptic, the Liturgies of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom; and is sanctioned in the Apostolical Constitutions. In the Armenian, incense is offered with this prayer: "send upon us in return the graces and gifts of the Holy Ghost." Krazer says: "perchance our fathers learnt this custom from the Apocalypse," and refers to the Apocalypse, chap. viii. 3.

pp. 68, 75, 92, 101, 106.

Neale, 107.

Compare what is said of the efficacy of the incense offering on p. 15. p. 221.

XIII. Lights were used not merely for giving light to dispel the darkness, but for mystical reasons, viz. that under the figure of natural or bodily light, that light might be signified concerning which it is said in the Gospel, "that was the true Light which lightens every man that cometh into the world."

Krazer, 217.

75, 91, 104. Lights are ordered to be used in the following Liturgies, the Syriac, S. James', the Armenian, and the Coptic. We have seen that S. Jerome declares that
 49. lights were lighted in broad daylight at the reading of the Gospel.

28, 31. XIV. The Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. We have the testimony of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and other writers to the antiquity and universality of this custom ; and it is referred to in the Eastern Syrian Liturgies.

XV. The reading of the Gospel was accompanied by much ceremony and many prayers. In the Constantinopolitan Rite, in the ceremony of the Little Entrance, there is a solemn procession, in which, after having censed the altar, and "reverenced the holy Gospel," the deacon takes it up: and going through the holy doors, preceded by tapers, he reads the Gospel, and afterwards returns the book to the priest. There is a similar ceremony used in the Armenian Liturgy, and in the Coptic. In the latter, the deacon, bearing the Gospel, and the priests following, make a circuit round the altar, "to represent that the Gospel should be preached throughout the world." The priests kiss the opened book, both before and after the reading; then it is closed, and carried down the church for the people to kiss. Before the reading, the book is laid on the altar, to signify that the words to be read out of it have gone forth from Jesus Christ.

ale's Trans.,
101.

93 and 106.

It is clear, from the careful consideration of these ancient Liturgies, that, amid variations of a minor character, there has ever been a substantial agreement.

Thus we have, in them all, the following parts, and mostly in the same order. There are the preparatory prayers: the Lections of Holy Scripture: the use of psalms, hymns, and litanies: the kiss of peace: the oblation of the bread and wine at the offertory: the Sursum Corda, Preface and Triumphal hymn: the formula of consecration, including the words of institution, the great Oblation, and the epiclesis: the great intercession for the living and the dead: the fraction of the Host and the commixture: the Lord's Prayer, with its Preface and Embolismus: the Sancta Sanctis and elevation: and I may add, a profession of faith in the real presence, and the communion. There is doubtless considerable variety in the prayers and ceremonies, and the manner in which they are arranged; but these are of very secondary importance. It should be observed that this substantial unity exists not only among the Liturgies of the Orthodox Church, but also among the numerous rites of the Syrian Jacobites, the Coptics, the Armenians and Nestorians. And if one considers that this general uniformity has had place for the last fourteen hundred years, *i.e.* since the separation of these bodies from the Orthodox Church and from each other; when it is clear that they would not borrow from each other nor from the Orthodox Church, nor would the latter imitate these separated bodies; we have surely a case to which the well-known maxim of S. Augustine may be applied, *viz.*, "that which the universal Church holds, which was instituted by no councils, yet has always been held, is rightly to be received as of Apostolic institution."

It may be worth while to consider more particularly

the general structure and the constituent parts of these Liturgies, or some of them. I think that which must strike one most, in this review, is the contrast presented in these Liturgies to the arrangements and general structure of the prevailing Liturgy of the Anglican Communion. No one can fail to see that the prominent idea and purpose of these Eastern Liturgies was sacrificial, viz. to commemorate, show forth, and plead the sacrifice of the cross, to God the Father, in order to obtain remission of sin, and gifts of grace and protection, for the whole church. In most, the great intercession, or prayers for all men, living and departed, are offered immediately ensuing the consecration, and thereby in union with the great Sacrifice.

Where there is some variation of the order, as in the Alexandrian and Eastern Syrian families, the intercessions are still used in close proximity, and in virtual oneness, with the great oblation. In every case, the Liturgy presents the powerful pleading of Christ's death and sacrifice, by virtue of His sacramental presence. Keble seems to have caught the true inspiration when he writes: "fresh from the atoning sacrifice, the world's Creator bleeding lies." Hence it was, that while the unbaptised and excommunicate were dismissed before the offering of the sacrifice, the faithful were required to remain, under pain of censure, or even excommunication.

The nature of the preparation which led up to this supreme act of worship and adoration may be more particularly stated. There was the penitential preparation of prayer expressive of deep humiliation, and confession of sin and unworthiness, said by the priest

for the people; and also prayers of most profound humility and confession in behalf of himself.

These and other preparatory acts and ceremonies may be seen in the analyses of the various Liturgies which have been given.

The First Oblation.

I wish here to call more particular attention to the recognition of the work of the Holy Ghost in the mystery of the consecration, as shown in the Eastern Liturgies. This is seen (*a*) in the Oblation of the elements, and (*b*) chiefly in the consecration formula. All these Liturgies have a solemn Oblation of the elements on the Altar, previous and preparatory to consecration. They are brought in, ceremonially, from the side altar or credence; or, as in later forms, from the chapel of the Prothesis, to the Altar, and solemnly presented.

I will cite a few formulæ, already given, of this offering.

1. S. James' Liturgy. The priest brings the holy Gifts from the credence to the Altar; and in the offertory prayer says, "Thyself bless this offering, and receive it to Thy supercelestial Altar." The people, in response to the priest, say in this place, "the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." We have seen that in another Liturgy these words are applied to the elements.

In a long prayer for the acceptance of the sacrifice are these words:

"Grant us, O Lord, with all fear and with a good conscience, to set before Thee this spiritual and unbloody sacrifice, receiving which unto Thy holy and supercelestial

and rational Altar, for a savour of spiritual sweetness, send down to us, in its stead, the grace of Thine all Holy Spirit."

Again, there are prayers that the offering may be sanctified and hallowed by the Holy Spirit.

S. James' Syriac has, in this place, such words as these :

"The priest, placing bread upon the Altar, says, 'He was led as a lamb to the slaughter,' &c. At the offering of the chalice, 'I will receive the cup of salvation,' &c. Again, 'He whom Moses saw . . . is placed upon the Holy Altar . . . He whom the cherubim . . . worship, with great fear, is offered upon the Altar.'"

In S. Mark's Liturgy we have, in the prayer of the offertory, these words :

"We pray and beseech, O Lord, lover of men, cause Thy face to shine upon this bread and these chalices which the most Holy Table receives, through the ministry of angels, and the surrounding choirs of archangels," &c.

In the Armenian Liturgy the priest, taking the bread from the chief deacon and placing it on the paten, says, "Memorial of our Lord Jesus Christ;" and on taking the wine, and pouring it into the chalice, "in remembrance of the saving dispensation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;" and he privately prays, "be pleased O Lord, Thyself, to bless this our Oblation. Receive it on Thy heavenly table." Making the sign of the cross over the elements, he says, "let the Holy Ghost," &c.

There are, in the prayer of Oblation, these words:

"Thou, O Lord, to Whom we offer this Oblation, accept and consummate it into a sacramental rite and offering of the

Body and Blood of Thine Only Begotten, and grant the remedy of forgiveness of sins to those who take of this bread and this cup."

The Coptic and Ethiopic Liturgies have, here, prayers very similar to the Epiclesis itself, as, "bless and sanctify and consecrate them, and transfer them," also "change them, that the bread may become Thy holy Body, and that which is mixed in the chalice, Thy precious Blood, and that they may be to all," &c. There is another Coptic Liturgy, or rather a fragment, for it does not go further than the *Sursum Corda*, taken from MSS. in the British Museum, translated by Dr Bezold, and published by Canon Swainson in his "Greek Liturgies," and in this fragment there are similar prayers, *e.g.* :

"How venerable is this day, and how wonderful is this hour, when the Holy Ghost comes down upon this Oblation and overshadows and sanctifies it." Again, "O Christ, our very God, cross, with Thy right hand, this bread, and bless it with Thy hand, and sanctify it with Thy power, and make it powerful, that it may serve for the remission of sins of Thy people." pp. 357, 358.

Again :

"O Lord our God, bountiful, and giver of life, Who didst stretch forth Thine holy hands upon the tree of the Cross, lay Thy holy hands on this paten, which is filled with good things. . . . Bless with Thine hand and sanctify and purify this paten, full of coal, which is Thine Own Body, which we have offered upon this holy Altar," &c. .

And again over the chalice :

"Lay Thy holy hand upon this cup: sanctify and purify it, that this may become Thy blessed blood for the life, for p. 360.

the remission of sin, to everybody who drinks it faithfully."

Once more :

" O Thou lover of men, show Thy countenance upon this bread and upon this cup, and purify them both, and change this bread so that it may become Thy pure Body, and that which is commingled in this cup may become Thy precious Blood, and that it may be," &c.

During this prayer several genuflections are made.

The very unusual character of these prayers, as attached to the first Oblation, must be my excuse for quoting them at such length. They can only be explained on the theory that the Canon or Anaphora is one act, reaching from the oblation of the elements to the close of the Epiclesis; or, in the Latin Missal, to the Our Father; from which the element of time is eliminated. This mystery takes us, as it were, beyond the limit of time, and places us in the domain of eternity. It is heaven brought down to earth, and the offering made on earth is borne to the sublime altar in heaven.

p. 111, 120.

I will only add that the Eastern Syrian Liturgy of the Apostles offers the first Oblation of bread and wine to our Lord. The elements are called "these adorable, life-giving, and divine sacraments:" and there are these words, "the Body of Christ and His precious Blood are upon the holy altar." Words much the same as these are also in the Malabar Liturgy.¹

¹ I have not included in this notice the office of the Prothesis, as I consider this to be of later date, as it forms a part of the Constantino-

The Epiclesis.

But it is in the Epiclesis proper that we find the fullest recognition of the work of the Holy Ghost in the consecration. I think it is quite safe to say there is no Eastern Liturgy, from the earliest downward, which does not contain an invocation of the Holy Ghost, that He would descend and make the bread and wine the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and in every instance this prayer is made after the words of Christ have been recited. I have quoted instances of this prayer from the Liturgies of S. James (Greek and Syriac), the Armenian, SS. Basil and Chrysostom, S. Mark, and the Coptic S. Basil, S. Cyril, the Ethiopic, the East Syrian Liturgies of Mar. Maris and Mar. Adæus, and of Theodore and Nestorius. These and others will be found in Appendix I.

This prayer to the Holy Ghost is a distinct and laudable confession of His concurrence in this operation of divine grace. The early authorities are fond of comparing His agency in the mystery of the operation by which the Eucharistic bread and wine become Christ's Body and Blood, with the formation by the same Spirit of His Blessed Body in the womb of the Virgin. We see, also, in this confession of the work of the Holy Ghost

politan Rite. It is of a later date than the Great Entrance, which is derived from the same source. But these are simply an expansion of the solemn Oblation of the elements which we have here dealt with. In fact, some of the earlier rites approach very nearly to the Constantinopolitan office, especially the Armenian. Dr Neale has given a fair description of this office.

the spiritual character of the Eucharistic presence, as being the result of the Spirit's operation. It is no more carnal or dependent on human power than Baptism. "the Spirit bloweth where it listeth: thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh nor whither it goeth. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."

It is therefore much to be regretted that the Western Liturgies, generally, have left out the express and prominent mention of the Holy Ghost as the consecrating agent. But it is a matter of much thankfulness that two of the Liturgies in use in the Anglican Communion, the Scottish and the American, have a distinct and explicit Invocation of the Holy Spirit; and in each case this follows the words of Institution. In the American Liturgy the form used is so expressed that it may be patient of a meaning, and is sometimes so used, which would narrow or limit the presence to the recipient. In the Scottish it is so far otherwise that this Liturgy has been accused of "baldness."¹

But if by "baldness" is meant that the presence effected by the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the

¹ The American form runs thus: "and we most humbly beseech Thee, O Merciful Father, to hear us; and of Thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with Thy Word and Holy Spirit, these Thy Gifts and creatures of bread and wine; that we receiving them, according to our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution in remembrance of His Death and Passion, may be partakers of His Most blessed Body and Blood."

The formula in the Scottish Liturgy is this: "we humbly beseech Thee, O Merciful Father, to hear us; and of Thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son."

words of Christ, is a presence in, accompanying, or identical with, the consecrated Elements, and apart from, and independent of, the communion or partaking thereof by the people, this baldness is shared by all the ancient Liturgies. We have seen that in these Liturgies the Holy Spirit is invoked to "make and to change" the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ; or to "render, perfect, and sanctify" them, that they may become His Body and Blood. It is true that the Holy Ghost is invoked for two purposes: (a) to make the Elements Christ's Body and Blood, and (b) for purposes of grace to those who receive them. Mr Hammond puts it thus, (a) "for the change of the Elements, (b) for the spiritual benefits to be received by the communicants." But this second purpose of the Invocation does in nowise impair or obscure the former. It is true the second prayer or Invocation is not found in the Scottish Liturgy, in the exact words of the ancient Liturgies. But there is a substantial agreement. Immediately after the Invocation in the Scottish Liturgy, there is a prayer for the acceptance of the Sacrifice, and that through it, the whole Church may obtain remission of sins and all other benefits of His Passion. Thereafter follows an oblation of ourselves to God, and the prayer that "whosoever shall be partakers of this Holy Communion, may *worthily* receive the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and be filled with Thy Grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with Him, that He may dwell in them, and they in Him." As the second clause of the ancient Invocation is certainly a prayer for the spiritual benefits of the Communion, I venture to con-

tend that these petitions in the Scottish Liturgy, though verbally different, are in sense and intention the same.

I would add to these Liturgical references the statements already quoted from the early fathers. At the risk of repetition I will place them together here.

Irenæus: "for as the bread which is from the earth when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread but the Eucharist," &c.

see ante, pp. 29,
D.

Again: "when therefore the mixed chalice and the created bread receive the Word of God, and the Eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ is made. The same writer, in another place, says: "when we have perfected the oblation, we invoke the Holy Spirit that He may exhibit (or render) this sacrifice, both the bread, the Body of Christ, and the Cup, the Blood of Christ." Once more: "they (the gifts), by the Spirit of God, having received the Word of God, become the Eucharist, which is the Body and Blood of Christ."

p. 31.

S. Ephrem, fourth century: "the priesthood boldly soars from earth to heaven . . . beseeching mercy and pardon from the merciful King, that the Spirit, being invoked, may descend and hallow the gifts that are set forth on earth."

p. 35.

S. Basil: "when the bread of the Eucharist and the Cup of blessing is made or shewn to be the Body and Blood of Christ."

p. 36.

S. Gregory of Nyssa, brother of S. Basil: "this bread in like manner . . . being sanctified by the Word of God and by prayer . . . it is transformed and changed."

p. 44.

S. Cyril of Jerusalem: "the bread and wine of the Eucharist, before the invocation . . . were simply bread and wine; but the invocation being effected, the bread

becomes the Body of Jesus and the wine His Blood." The same writer: "we pray God . . . to send the Holy Ghost on that which is offered, to the end that the bread may be made the Body of Jesus Christ and the wine His Blood."

Origen says: "let us eat the breads offered in sacrifice, which by prayer are made the Body of the Lord." In another place he has similar words: "we eat the offered breads, made by the prayers a holy and sanctifying Body." S. Chrysostom: "the Bishop being at the altar, does not invoke fire to descend, but the Holy Spirit. The priest stands at the altar . . . invoking the Holy Ghost that He would come to operate upon the gifts." He says of the offering of the fruits of the earth: "they are not sanctified to become so great a Sacrament, except by the Spirit of God, working invisibly."

S. James of Edessa, describing the order of the Liturgy as "received from the fathers," says: "there is also a prayer for the illapse of the Holy Ghost, . . . by which the Oblation is completed." Simon, Archbishop of Thessalonica, in his commentary on the mysteries, already quoted, says "the consecration is made by the words: This is My Body, and the prayer that the Holy Ghost may descend upon the symbols."

The question of the essentials of consecration and the arrangements of the different parts of the consecration prayer, I purpose to discuss more fully after a review of the Western Liturgies which I propose to make hereafter. In the meantime, I venture to think that the theory and practice of the whole Eastern Church from the earliest times is, so distinct and universal that there is no room left for *disputation*.

Prayers for the Dead.

7ol. III. p. 502.

I have referred to this practice, and given examples; but it is a question which I think demands fuller attention. These prayers are found in all the Eastern Liturgies; and indeed, as Le Brun has remarked, there was no Liturgy in any Christian Church, until the sixteenth century, which did not contain commemorations and prayers for the dead. In the earliest Liturgies the living and departed were prayed for by name, and the names were written on two leaves which were joined and folded together, and therefore called a diptych: the names of the living were written on the one, and those of the dead on the other. Among the living were the names of those who brought offerings, and also of the Patriarch, the Bishop, and other eminent persons. Among the names of the dead were those of Bishops, Priests, or other Christians recently departed. The insertion of the name of a departed Christian was a token that he died in the faith and full communion of the Church. After their names were read, commemoration was made of them, and of all the faithful departed. In S. Mark's Liturgy we first find this notice: "the deacon reads the diptychs of the departed: and the priest bowing down, prays;" and this is the prayer: "give rest, our Master, Lord and God, to the spirits of all these in the Tabernacle of Thy Saints, vouchsafing to them, in Thy Kingdom, the good things of Thy promise, which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, &c. . . . grant rest to their souls, and vouchsafe to them The Kingdom of Heaven." The usual place for these

See Neale's
Translations,
p. 18.

Hammond,
p. 183.

ers is in the great Intercession, which, as we have in most Eastern Liturgies, follows the consecration; but in some precedes it. But whether they go before or follow after the Consecration, they are closely connected up with it; so that the offering is one in time, though in fact, two. There is in the great Oblation the offering up of the Body of Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin, and is now glorified; and united with it, preceding or following, or both, the intercessions for the mystical body consisting of the faithful, living and departed. The offering is indeed primarily and *par excellence* the offering of the body which exists in static union with the Divine Nature of the Son of God, but it is also the offering up to God, by prayer and intercession, of the body mystical, which is one with the incarnate Body. Keble, if I may quote him again, expresses this truth well:

“The eye of faith which waxes bright
Each moment by Thine Altar’s light
Sees them; e’en now they still abide
In mystery kneeling at our side,
And with them, every spirit blest
From realms of triumph or of rest.”

In this sense the Holy Eucharist is the presentation of Christ, not only in all the completeness of His two natures of God and man in the unity of His Person, but also in the fulness of His redeemed and elected

And in this body are included, besides those on earth, the great majority who have passed the boundaries of life, and are at rest with Him in the eternal world. Keble makes the following observations on the text of S. Mark’s Liturgy quoted above: “observe (1) one of the many examples of prayer for the

dead, as an isapostolic practice; (2) nevertheless, every single expression contained in them militates against the doctrine of a purgatory,—*i.e.* in the sense of a place of pain." It is worthy of remark that in the earliest Liturgies the highest Saints, even the Blessed Virgin herself, are among those who, with all the elect, are commemorated before God. In later Liturgies, and in the interpolations or additions of the earliest, there are prayers that we may be heard through the intercessions of the Saints. I would also remark that the prayers in behalf of the departed are not merely, that they may attain to a blessed resurrection, and be placed at Christ's right hand at the last day, but that, in the meanwhile, they may enjoy the presence of God, and rest in the bosom of Abraham, in the Paradise of God, with all the Saints.

In concluding this part of my subject I will only add that it seems impossible for any one to rise from a careful and unbiassed study of these ancient Liturgies with any other conviction than that they contain and express, in the most explicit terms, the doctrine of the real objective presence of Christ our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, in such sense as this term is now commonly understood: also the doctrine of the memorial sacrifice, set forth in the Great Oblation: and of the operation of the Holy Ghost in perfecting the consecration, as shown in the Epiclesis. I propose in a future part to give some account of the Western Liturgies, their history, structure, and varieties: and I hope to show that, though their divergences from the Eastern Liturgies are greater than the variations which exist among these Eastern Liturgies themselves, yet that a substantial agreement remains among them all.

APPENDIX I.

I give in this Appendix a catena of the various of the Epiclesis as it is found, not only in the r and prevalent Liturgies of the East, but also numerous offshoots of these Liturgies, which M. dot has, with very great care and industry, ed and published. There will be found in all 70fold intention of the Epiclesis, viz., to invoke oly Ghost, to make, by sacramental change, the and wine the Body and Blood of the Lord; and aving thus become Christ's Body and Blood, they e for profit and grace to such as receive them. ry case, I believe, it will be found that this In- on follows the words of Institution and the Oblation. I will give first the forms which are in the greater and better known Liturgies. igh these appear in the text, yet I repeat them hat the whole may be seen in one conspectus.

ames', Greek—

I

I upon us and upon these proposed (or offered) Neale, Trans.,
 hy Most Holy Ghost, send down the same pp. 51, 52.
 s and upon these holy and proposed gifts, that, coming Hammond,
 hem with His holy and good and glorious presence, p. 45.
 y hallow and make this bread the holy Body of
 hrist. People, Amen. And this cup the precious

Blood of Thy Christ. People, Amen. That they may be to those who partake of them for remission of sins and for eternal life, &c.

II. S. James', Syriac—

Hammond,
p. 71.

Have mercy on us, God the Father Almighty, and send Thy Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, . . . that, coming, He may make this bread the life-giving and saving Body, the heavenly Body, giving salvation to souls and bodies, the Body of the Lord God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ; that it may be for remission of sins and life eternal to all who receive.

III. S. Mark—

Neale, p. 24.
Hammond,
p. 187.

Send down on us, and on these loaves, and on these cups, Thy Holy Ghost, that He may sanctify and perfect them as God Almighty, and make this bread the Body. The people, Amen. And this cup the Blood of the New Testament, of our very Lord and God and Saviour and universal King, Jesus Christ, . . . that they may be to us all who participate in them, for faith, for sobriety, for healing, &c.

IV. S. Chrysostom—

Neale, pp. 114,
115.
Hammond,
p. 112.

Send down Thy Holy Ghost on us and these offered gifts, . . . and make this bread the precious Body of Thy Christ. Deacon, Amen . . . and that which is in this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ. Deacon, Amen . . . changing them by the Holy Ghost. Deacon, Amen, Amen, Amen, . . . so that they may be for purification of soul, forgiveness of sins, communion of the Holy Ghost, &c.

V. S. Basil—

Neale,
pp. 135, 136.
Hammond,
p. 114.

We invoke and beseech Thee, Holy of Holies, through the goodwill of Thy bounty, that Thy Holy Ghost may come upon us, and on these Thy holy gifts lying before Thee, and bless and hallow and show (*αγιαδεῖται*) . . . this bread to be the

precious Body Itself of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Deacon, Amen . . . and this chalice the precious Blood Itself of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Deacon, Amen . . . changing them by the Holy Ghost. Deacon, Amen, Amen, Amen.¹

Coptic S. Basil—

VI.

We pray thee, O Christ, . . . that Thy Holy Spirit may come upon us and these gifts set forth before (Thee), and sanctify them, and make them to be the Holy of Holies (sancta sanctorum), and make this bread the Holy Body of the same Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Who is given for remission of sins and for life eternal to those who receive it. O Lord, make us to be worthy to communicate in Thy holy gifts for sanctification of body, soul, and spirit. Hammond, p. 211.

Ethiopic—

VII.

We beseech and entreat Thee, O Lord, that Thou wouldst send Thy Holy Spirit and power upon this bread and upon this chalice, and make the one the Body and the other the Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and grant that they may be to all who receive them for sanctification, &c. Hammond p. 258.

Coptic S. Cyril—

VIII.

Send from above . . . Thy Holy Paraclete . . . upon us Thy servants, and upon these venerable gifts laid out before Thee, upon this bread and upon this chalice, that they may be purified and changed; and make this bread the Body of Hammond, p. 224.

¹ This remarkable prayer is attached :—"That Thou wouldst unite all of us, who are partakers of the one Bread and of the Chalice, to one another unto the fellowship of one Holy Spirit, and not cause any of us to partake of the holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ unto judgment or condemnation, but that we may find mercy and grace with all Thy saints who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world," &c.

Thy Christ, and make this chalice the precious Blood of the New Testament, of the same Lord Jesus Christ, that they may be to all who shall receive them, &c.

IX. The Armenian—

Hammond, p. 165. Shed abroad upon us and these oblations which we now present [unto Thee] Thy Spirit, . . . whereby Thou wilt make the bread, when blessed, truly the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ; and the Cup, when blessed, wilt Thou make the Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (thrice repeated). Whereby Thou wilt make the bread and wine, when blessed, truly the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, changing them by Thy Holy Spirit. Deacon, Amen, Amen. So that it may be to all who draw near to it our release from condemnation, &c.

X. SS. Adæus and Maris—

Hammond, p. 276. May Thy Holy Ghost come and rest upon this oblation of Thy servants which they offer; and bless and sanctify it, that it may be (effectual) to us, O Lord, for propitiation of faults, for remission of sins, &c.

The following forms of the Epiclesis are taken from Renaudot's collection of the many smaller and less known Syriac and Coptic Liturgies.

XI. Coptic S. Gregory—

Renaudot, vol. i. p. 31. Send upon us the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, Who shall sanctify and change these gifts lying before (Thee) into the Body and Blood of our salvation; and make truly this bread Thy Holy Body, O Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, Which is given for remission of sins and life eternal to those who communicate from it, and this chalice the precious Blood of the Lord God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, &c.

The Greek Liturgy of S. Gregory—

XII.

Therefore do thou, O Lord, by Thy voice, change these gifts lying before (Thee). . . . Do thou Thyself send Thy Holy Spirit, that He, coming, may by His holy, good, and glorious presence sanctify and change these precious, holy, and offered gifts into the Body Itself and the Blood of our salvation, and make this bread to become (*γίνηται*) the holy Body of the Lord God and Saviour . . . for remission of sins and for life eternal to those who communicate. Likewise over the chalice, &c.

Renaudot, v
p. 98.

The Lesser Liturgy of S. James—

XIII.

Have mercy upon us, and send upon us and upon these Oblations, Thy Holy Spirit, . . . that He may descend and make this bread the life-giving Body, the saving Body, the Body of Christ our God: and make this Chalice the Blood of the New Testament, &c., that they may sanctify, &c.

Renaudot, v
p. 128.

S. Xystus—

XIV.

May Thy Spirit, holy and life-giving, come and rest upon this Oblation, . . . and make this bread the Body, and this chalice the Blood, of Christ our God, and make us all who shall communicate therein, &c.

p. 137.

Liturgy of S. Peter, I.—

XV.

That He may descend on these offered gifts and sanctify them; that, gently descending, He may make the bread indeed the saving Body, the life-giving Body, the Body of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ; . . . likewise also this chalice, &c.

p. 149.

S. Peter, II.—

XVI.

Have mercy upon us, and send upon us and upon these Oblations Thy Holy Spirit, . . . that He may come and may make this bread the Body of Christ our God, and this chalice the Blood . . . that they may be, &c.

pp. 156, 157.

XVII. S. John the Evangelist—

Renaudot,
p. 165.

Send upon me and upon these Oblations the living, holy, and life-giving Spirit. . . . May He Himself dwell upon these mysteries, and sanctify them, that, descending, He may make this bread . . . truly the Body of Christ our God (the same words are said over the chalice), that they may sanctify our souls and bodies.

XVIII. All Apostles—

p. 172.

Have mercy upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us ; send to us from Thy Holy Heaven Thy life-giving Spirit, that He may rest upon this Oblation and make it the life-giving Body, and that it may be for us expiation, cleansing, and sanctification ; . . . that by His descent He may make this bread the Body of our God, and that which is mixed in this chalice the Blood of Christ our God.

XIX. S. Mark, Preacher and Evangelist—

pp. 178, 179.

Have mercy upon us, O Lord, and hear us now, and send to us . . . Thy Holy Spirit, . . . that, blessing and sanctifying [it], He may make this bread the Body of Christ . . . and this chalice the Blood of Christ.

XX. S. Clement (Syriac)—

pp. 191, 192.

We beseech Thee, most Holy God, to send to us from the habitation of Thine Eternal Kingdom, from the region of Thine exalted presence, Thy Holy Spirit, . . . that, descending and resting, He may abide upon these oblations . . . and make this bread indeed the life-giving Body, the heavenly and salutary Body, the Body which saves our souls and our bodies, the Body of the Lord God Himself and our Saviour Jesus Christ, for pardon of sin, &c. *Similar words over the chalice "for propitiation," &c.*

S. Dionysius of Athens—

XXI.

I ask Thy Holy Spirit, that Thou wouldest send Him upon me, and upon these gifts lying before [Thee], and on Thy faithful people. By his descent and overshadowing may He make this bread a living Body indeed, and one imparting life to our souls, . . . the Body of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ for remission of sins and life eternal. *Similar words over the chalice.*

Renandot,
p. 206.

S. Ignatius—

XXII.

Have mercy upon us, God the Father Almighty, and send upon us Thy Holy Spirit . . . that He may, by His descent and blessing, make this bread truly the holy and sanctifying Body of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ (likewise over the cup), for remission of sins and for life eternal.

p. 217.

S. Julius, Pope—

XXIII.

Have mercy upon me, O Lord, . . . and send upon me and these offered gifts Thy Holy Spirit, . . . that, coming, He may make this same bread the Body of Christ our God (likewise over the cup), that it may be, &c.

p. 228.

S. Eustathius of Antioch—

XXIV.

Have mercy on us and pour out upon me and upon these Oblations lying before (Thee), the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, and cleanse me from all stains of sin and strengthen me for this pure and holy ministry . . . that, by His overshadowing, He may constitute (*exhibeat*) this bread the Body itself of Christ our God, and make that which is mixed in the chalice the Blood, &c.

p. 236.

S. John Chrysostom, Syriac—

XXV.

O Lord God, Father Almighty, may Thy Holy Spirit and Thy sanctifying power rest upon this Holy (sanctum), and

p. 245.

sanctify these Oblations and descend, abide, and dwell upon this bread and upon this wine, that they may become (fiant) one Body and Blood of the Only Begotten Son, through Thy power, and the power of the living Holy Ghost.

see Renaudot,
vol. II. p. 245.

There is a very beautiful prayer interposed here, which I would commend to the reader's attention.

XXVI.

S. Marathas—

pp. 263, 264.

Have mercy upon me, O God, Lover of men, and send upon me and upon this oblation, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit Who proceedeth from Thee, and receives from Thy Son, . . . and rest upon these oblations and sanctify them . . . and change this simple bread, and make it the Body itself which was immolated for us upon the Cross, the same Body which rose with glory, . . . and change the mingled wine, which is in this chalice, and make it the Blood which was shed for us on the summit of Golgotha, . . . for remission of sins and life eternal.

XXVII.

S. Cyril—

p. 278.

"Where used uncertain, but assimilated to the Alexandrian form."

ale, Int. to
ms., p. 12.

Let Thy Holy Spirit come to me, and wipe away all the stains of my soul, . . . Who, by blessing and sanctifying, may make this bread the Body of Christ, and that which is mixed in this chalice the Blood of Christ. Make us also pure and holy by this divine communion, &c.

XXVIII.

Dioscorus—

naudot, vol. II.
289.

O Lord, may Thy Holy Spirit come, and by His grace rest upon, sanctify, and perfect this sacrifice, . . . that, coming, He may, by His grace, make this bread the Body of Christ our God; and that which is mixed in this chalice may He make the Blood of our God, that, &c.

Philoxenus of Maburg, I.—

XXIX.

Send the strengthening gifts of Thy Holy and Life-giving Spirit that through His descent, He may make this bread the Body of Christ our God; and that which is mixed in this chalice the Blood, &c., that they may be, &c.

Philoxenus of Maburg, II., Hieropolis—

XXX.

The Epiclesis of this Liturgy is in the familiar form, p. 312.
for descent of the Holy Ghost to sanctify and make the bread and wine His Body and Blood.

Severus of Antioch—

XXXI.

Send to us, from Thy holy height, Thy Spirit, the Paraclete upon us and upon these oblations lying before Thee], and sanctify them, that this bread may become *(fiat)* the Body of the Lord God, &c., and that He would make that which is mixed in this chalice the Blood of the New Testament, &c., for the remission of sin, &c.

James Baradaëus—

XXXII.

I invoke Thee, O Lord God, that Thou wouldest send upon us the grace of Thy Holy Spirit. May that same Spirit come and glide on these prepared mysteries, that, by the fulness of His indwelling, He may make this bread the life-giving Body Amen and this chalice, &c. . . . also make us by Thy grace pure and holy, &c.

Matthew the Shepherd—

XXXIII.

Send, Lord, the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth, that He may descend and rest upon this sacrifice and sanctify it and that He who breathes secretly may make this (bread) the Body of God incarnate; and consummate this chalice (as) the Blood which was poured out on the top of Golgotha, that they may be to us, &c.

XXXIV. James of Batnæ—

p. 360. O Lord God Almighty, . . . let the gates of Heaven be open, and Thy Holy Spirit come . . . descend, glide, and rest upon us, and upon these offered oblations, and change them . . . that He may exhibit (or constitute) that which is indeed bread, the precious Body Itself of our Lord Jesus Christ, and this chalice the living Blood Itself of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . that they may be to all who receive them, &c.

pp. 384, 385. The three following Liturgies—James of Edessa, Thomas of Heraclea, Moses Bar-Cephas, Philoxenus of Bagdad have almost the same (familiar) words, viz.,
 p. 393. that the Holy Ghost would come down and rest upon,
 p. 204. sanctify, and make the bread and wine the Body and Blood of Christ.

XXXVIII. The Liturgy of the Holy Doctors differs slightly—

p. 412. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, and hear me. . . . Send from Thy highest heavens Thy Holy Spirit, that He may sanctify this spiritual Eucharist, . . . and that, descending upon and sanctifying, He may make this very bread the holy Body . . . of the Lord God and our Saviour, for remission of sins and for life eternal.

XXXIX. John of Bassora—

p. 426. Send to us Thy Holy Spirit . . . that He, touching these gifts by our sinful hands, not ministerially, but as the Lord, neither figuratively but perfectly (or efficiently), . . . He may make this same bread the Body of Thine Only Begotten Son, and may make this chalice . . . for the remission of sins.

Renaudot suggests that there is an omission here.

XL. Michael of Antioch—

p. 441. Sanctify these oblations by Thy Holy Spirit. . . . May He Himself come and brood over, and through His overshadow-

ing, make these Sacraments the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ : and through the same may Thy spiritual flock obtain pardon . . . and may the Conqueror, Who giveth victory, the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier, through His descent and overshadowing, make this bread indeed the Body of Christ our God. People, Amen. And this chalice the Blood of Christ our God and King. People, Amen.

Dionysius Bar-Salibi—

XLII.

Have mercy upon me, O Lord, and send Thy Holy Spirit p. 449. upon these oblations lying before (Thee), . . . and make this bread the Body of our God. People, Amen. And change that which is mixed in this chalice into the Blood of our Christ our God : that they may be to all who receive, &c.

Gregory Abulfarai—

XLII.

There is nothing special in this Epiclesis ; it is brief p. 490. and in a familiar form, which has been often repeated in the previous quotations.

John the Scribe and Patriarch—

XLIII.

Very similar to the form in Michael of Antioch. p. 477.

Dioscorus of Cardu—

XLIV.

May the Holy Spirit come . . . and descend upon these pp. 494, 495. mysteries, and bless and perfect them . . . that, coming and resting upon and brooding over these mysteries, He may change this bread into the Body of Christ our God, the Body whereof our Lord and God gave to his Apostles in the Supper, which was pierced on the summit of Golgotha for the life of the world, which was formed of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, the Body of our Lord and God, in which He wondrously showed forth His attributes, which He gave to us for expiation of offences, forgiveness of sins, and life eternal. *So of the chalice.*

XLV. John, Patriarch of Antioch—

512, 513.

Send the grace of Thy Holy Spirit Who descended into the pure womb of the Holy Virgin and formed a Body for Thy Word That He may Himself descend now also on these mysteries, perfect them and sanctify them that, descending (*illabens*), He may make this bread the Holy Body of Christ our God, Amen, and what is mixed that, &c.

XLVI. Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch—

Send Thy Holy Spirit, that He Himself may now come and descend upon these sacraments, and make them the Body, and purify me and all Thy flock: that by His secret inspiration and descent He may make this bread the holy and living (*animatum*) Body of Jesus our God, and this mingled chalice the living Blood endued with reason (*intellectu præditum*).

XLVII. Andrew Masius—

May Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and upon these gifts, which we have set before Thee, and bless them, and make this bread the glorious Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, the heavenly Body, the Body effectual to life, the precious Body, for the expiation of offences, and remission of sins, and life eternal to those who receive. *So of the chalice.*

APPENDIX II.

Dr Neale has collected and published "the more interesting among the intercessions for the faithful departed, which occur in the whole body of Liturgies." I do not intend to repeat any of those he has quoted in this Appendix, as they are so easily accessible; nor any of those quoted in the body of this work, but to add a few more which are, I think, of value and authority. I would, however, repeat and adopt his prefatory remarks (1) "that prayers for the dead, and more especially the oblation of the Eucharist for them, have been from the beginning the practice of the universal Church. (2) And this without any idea of a purgatory of pain, or of any state from which the departed soul has to be delivered, as from one of misery."

1. S. James—

"Remember, Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, the orthodox whom we have commemorated, from Neale, pp. 54, 1 righteous Abel unto this day."

"Give them rest there in the land of the living, in Thy Kingdom, in the delights of Paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our holy fathers, whence pain and Hammond, p. 4

sorrow and groaning is exiled, where the light of Thy countenance looks down and always shines."

ummond, p. 6.

2. Syriac S. James—

. 75, 76.

"Be mindful, O Lord, of the departed who have put Thee on in Baptism and received Thee from the altar. Give rest to them." These words occur in the prayer of the offering of the Elements. In the great intercession we have this prayer: "Remember, O Lord, the holy bishops who have already fallen asleep; who from James, the prince of the Apostles, until this day, have preached the word of the orthodox faith in the Church."

"Again and again we commemorate all the faithful departed, who have died in the true faith . . . who, sleeping in the true faith, are now at rest, and have come to Thee, the God and Lord of spirits and of all flesh. We beseech and implore Christ our God Who has received their souls and spirits to Himself, that through His manifold mercies, He would count them worthy of pardon of their faults, and remission of sins; and bring them, and us, to His Kingdom in Heaven."

ale, p. 116.

3. Chrysostom—

ummond, p. 43.

"And further we offer to Thee this reasonable service in behalf of those who have departed in the faith, our ancestors, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, virgins, every spirit made perfect in the faith; especially the most holy, undefiled, excellently laudable, glorious Lady the Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary."

4. S. Basil—

"That we may find mercy and grace with all Thy

saints who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world, forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, heralds, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, teachers, every just spirit perfected in faith; especially the all holy, immaculate, supereminently blessed, glorious Lady the Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary.”

Neale, pp. 188.

Hammond, pp. 116, 117.

For the soul of one dead—

“For repose and remission of the soul of Thy servant N.— in a place of light, where sorrow and sighing are put away. Give him rest, O our God; and give them rest where the light of Thy countenance looketh upon them.”

5. Coptic S. Cyril—

“Be merciful, O Lord. Grant rest to our fathers and brothers who have fallen asleep and whose souls Thou hast received. Be mindful also of all saints who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world, our holy fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, preachers, and all the spirits of the just who have been made perfect in faith: but especially the holy, most glorious Mother of God, ever Virgin, the pure and unstained (illibatae) holy Mary, and of all those, O Lord, whose names we mention and of those whom we do not name: of those we have in mind, and of those we do not remember, who have fallen asleep and rest in the faith of Christ. Vouchsafe, O Lord, to grant that the souls of all may rest in the bosom of our holy fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.”

Hammond, pp. 208, 210.

6. The Ethiopic—

- p. 256. "Give repose, O Lord, to our fathers and brethren who have fallen asleep and rest in the true faith. May Christ our God conduct them to the heavenly Jerusalem, and all who are assembled with us, and who look for the mercy of God."

7. SS. Adæus and Maris—

- p. 274. "Receive, O Lord, this oblation for the entire, holy and catholic Church, and for all the fathers, pious and just, who have been pleasing to Thee, and for all prophets and apostles, and for all martyrs and confessors . . . and for all the departed who have gone forth and are separated from us."

END OF PART I.

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HANDBOOK OF LITURGIES

11

12

A
POPULAR HANDBOOK
ON THE
ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND STRUCTURE OF
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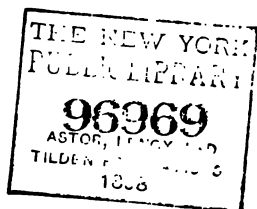
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Dedication.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD FORBES

I DEDICATE THIS LITTLE BOOK,

IN GRATEFUL REGOGNITION OF HIS MANY BENEFACCTIONS
AND OTHER SERVICES RENDERED TO THE
SCOTTISH CHURCH.

PREFACE.

IN issuing the second part of "A Popular Handbook of Liturgies," the Author desires to apologise for the delay of the publication, which has been chiefly due to illness. He wishes again to say that the book lays no claim to original Liturgical research. It is simply an attempt to gather up results which have been obtained by writers of more learning and leisure, and to present them in a popular form. His sole object and desire is to promote a wider and more general knowledge of Liturgies among the members of the Church. On a subject so complicated and multifarious it is very difficult to escape inaccuracies, and the Author will be glad to receive any corrections or criticisms.

November, 1897.

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HANDBOOK OF LITURGIES.

PART SECOND.

IN Part First of this tractate we discussed the origin, history, and structure of Liturgies; but chiefly with reference to those of the East. I endeavoured to show that, amid some variations, there is a close similarity, in structure and form, among the numerous Liturgies of the East. In examining those of the West, I hope to make it clear that there is in these also a substantial likeness, although there are greater differences in detail.

It is usual to group these Liturgies under two heads, viz., Roman and Gallican; but, for greater distinctness, I prefer to divide the Gallican family into three, viz., the Gallican proper, or the Liturgy of Ancient Gaul; the Mozarabic, of Spain; and the Ambrosian, of Milan. We have thus a fourfold division of Western Liturgies:—(1) the Roman; (2) the Mozarabic; (3) the Gallican; (4) the Ambrosian.

I. THE ROMAN LITURGY.

Great obscurity rests on the question, what was the Liturgical rite of the Roman Church in the Apostolic Age. It is impossible to trace any historical connection between the Roman Missal now in use and the primitive Liturgy of Rome. I quote the following remarkable statement from the *Dublin Review*:—"In the days when the first Christian missionaries, travelling along the great Roman roads, carried with them into Gaul and Spain, the primitive Eucharistic Ritual, which was, at that time, common to Rome, with the Churches of the East, this Liturgy contained, as the Liturgies of the East to this day contain, no variable prayers, but one and the same unchanging formulary, probably the same in substance which has been preserved in the viii. Book of the Apostolic Constitutions, was employed in every celebration of the Sacred Mystery." The same writer says in another place: "It cannot be maintained that the Roman Canon is, as regards details, primitive. Like other portions of the Roman rite, it is the outcome of a gradual process of Liturgical development and reconstruction."

Mr Hammond, in his very useful Liturgical work, contends that it was in all probability a Greek Liturgy, *i.e.*, written in Greek; and, in support of this opinion, he refers to "Dean Milman as an historian, to De Rossi as an antiquarian, and to Bishop Westcott as a critic." He quotes the following from Dean

"Lat. Christianity,"
book i.
chap. i. p. 32.

Milman:—"For some considerable [it cannot but be an indefinable] part of the first three centuries, the

Christian Church of Rome, and most, if not all, the Churches of the West, were, if we may so speak, Greek Colonies. Their language was Greek, their organisation Greek, their writers Greek, their Scriptures Greek, and many vestiges and traditions show that their ritual and their Liturgy was Greek.”¹ Mr Hammond adds: “Certainly if the Church of this period were as thoroughly Greek as Dean Milman believes, its Liturgy must have been Greek; and, if so, it is only natural to suppose that it would follow the Oriental type rather than that of the Roman of later times. At all events, no traces remain of any Greek Liturgies similar to the later Roman, and actually we have from Justin Martyr, writing from Rome in the first part of the second century, a description of a Liturgy which tallies very closely with the Clementine (an Oriental) Liturgy. It would be out of all harmony with the spirit of the early Church, and would be a transference of the nineteenth-century ideas back into the second and third. to imagine that the Holy Eucharist, the great means bond, and symbol of unity, was celebrated in different languages in the same Church, for two different sets of Christians, Greek-speaking and Latin-speaking, and according to different rites. If any difficulty be felt with regard to the native or Latin-speaking members of the Roman Church, it may be remembered, first,

¹ A Liturgy, bearing the name of S. Peter, was published in Antwerp (1587) by William Linden, Bishop of Ghent; but it is regarded as spurious by a general consensus of competent authorities. It is, in fact, a *melange* of the Liturgy of Constantinople and the Roman Missal, bearing the Pro-anaphora of the former and the Canon of the latter.

Hammond's
"Lit." lxi,
lxx.

that Greek, as a language of communication, was far more widely understood among the subjects of the early Roman Empire than is often realised; and further, we should only have another instance of what we have already seen was the case in the Syrian and Coptic Churches, in which a Greek Liturgy was used before the adoption of the vernacular service."

If there had been any important difference between the Roman and the Eastern Liturgies of the sub-Apostolic period, we should naturally expect to find some reference to it. We have accounts of differences between the two Churches on other points, but we have no trace of any Liturgical diversity. One question in dispute between them was the time of the observance of Easter. During the Pontificate of Anicetus, S. Polycarp, the Martyr-Bishop of Smyrna, visited Rome for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation on this vexed question. No agreement was obtained, but charity was preserved; and, as a token of peace, the Pope requested S. Polycarp to celebrate the Eucharist. When we bear in mind the jealous care with which the Roman Pontiffs have, for the most part, maintained their own Liturgical rites, and their efforts, in many cases only too successful, to impose them on other churches, to the exclusion of the national or local use, we can hardly suppose that Anicetus would have approved of the celebration in his own church of a Liturgy which differed from the Roman in any important matter. And, on the other hand, it is most likely that the Smyrnæan Bishop would celebrate by the rite to which he was accus-

tomed. The natural inference is that there was no material difference between the Liturgies used in Rome and Smyrna.

It has been said that the Roman Liturgy has no certain history prior to the times of the Popes SS. Gelasius, Leo, and Gregory. There are traditions which ascribe certain portions of the Liturgy to Roman Bishops of an earlier date, and which may be mentioned, although they possess no reliable authority. They are these:—(a) that Alexander (109–119) combined the history of the Passion with the prayers of the priest when Masses were celebrated; (b) that Telesphorus (124–139) ordered that the Gloria in Excelsis should be sung at the Sacrifice on the night of the Nativity; (c) that Celestine (422–432) directed the Psalms of David to be sung, in addition to the reading of S. Paul's Epistles and the Gospels, before the Sacrifice. The same Pope is stated to have written a letter to the Bishops of France, in which he speaks of: "Prayers used all over the world and in the whole Catholic Church, with groanings and supplications, that faith may be given to unbelievers; that idolaters may be converted from the errors of their impiety; that the veil may be taken from the hearts of the Jews, and the light of truth may shine upon them; that heretics may repent and schismatics be restored; that penitence may be granted to the lapsed, and the gate of the Kingdom of Heaven opened to catechumens."¹

See Grancolas, "Les anciennes Liturgies," p. 397.

¹ Prayers such as these are found in the Roman Missal for Good Friday; and are supposed, by the Abbé Duchesne and others, to have been used more frequently in the early Roman Church.

Grancolas,
pp. 405-407.

Vol. ii. p.
138.

The earliest authentic reference to the Roman Liturgy is contained in a letter of Pope Innocent I. (prior to S. Celestine, 402-417) to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium in Umbria, in which this Pope affirms that: "If all churches had observed the practices handed down by the Apostles, there would have been no diversity of rites." He refers to S. Peter as the author of the Liturgical rites which he identifies with those of the Roman Church. He adds, strangely enough: "It is especially manifest that in all Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Sicily, the churches appointed nothing but what S. Peter and his successors ordained." Le Brun has the following remark on this extraordinary statement:—"This conformity is hardly found even in Africa and Italy." I may add the comment of the Abbé Duchesne on the Pope's statement: "Yet, however strange the fact may appear, there is no doubt that at the time of Pope Innocent, the Roman Liturgical use was not the only one in the West or even in Italy. The Bishop to whom this letter was addressed was Bishop of Eugubium in Umbria, belonging to the Metropolitan diocese of the Pope; and therefore, being a direct suffragan of the Pope as Metropolitan, he had special reasons to conform to the usages of Rome, and yet he was tempted to introduce others. The Roman use was attacked on its own ground." It is certain that at the period when Pope Innocent wrote, the Gallican Liturgy was the use of Gaul, the Mozarabic of Spain, the Ambrosian of Milan and North Italy, while at Ravenna and Aquileia there were variations from the Roman use.

From this correspondence it would appear that the Roman differed from other Western Liturgies as to the place assigned to the "Kiss of Peace" and to the diptychs or memorials of the living and departed. In both the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, these are placed after the Offertory or first Oblation and before the "Sursum Corda"; while, in the Roman Liturgy, the commemoration of the living and departed had place in the Canon, and the Kiss of Peace after the Consecration.

There is another reference to the Roman Liturgy in a letter written by Pope Vigilius (540-555) to a Spanish Bishop, Profuturus of Braga. The letter was written in answer to some inquiries which the Bishop of Braga had made as to the Liturgical practice of the Roman Church. The Pope replied: "The Roman Liturgy contains one tenor, or order of prayer, by which the gifts are consecrated, which order is always to be observed, whatever may be the season or solemnity; but at the Paschal season, the Ascension, Pentecost, the Epiphany, and Festivals of the Saints, some special prayers or clauses are added. We send you a copy of the Canon, with the additions which we have made, assuring you that we have received it from Apostolic tradition." Le Brun, vol. ii. p. 140.

The next reference to this Liturgy is given us by John the deacon, in his life of S. Gregory. He tells us that this Pope made an important addition to the Canon. At the end of the prayer which commences "Hanc igitur" he added these words: "Dispose our days in Thy peace; rescue us from eternal damnation, and command us to be numbered among the flock of" Ibid., pp. 142-145.

Thine elect." This Pope made another Liturgical change by placing the fraction and commixture after the Our Father. Before his time both had place at the end of the Prayer of the Canon, just before the Our Father; and the same arrangement exists in the Gallican, Mozarabic, and Ambrosian rites. The narrative concerning these changes has a curious interest. S. Gregory, before his elevation to the papacy, was for some time resident in Constantinople, as Apocrisarius or Ambassador of the Pope. Whether on this or on other grounds, the Christians of Sicily accused the Pope of making these and other changes out of deference to the See of Constantinople. The other changes had reference to the use of the Alleluia, the Kyrie, and the vestments of the sub-deacon. These the Pope rebuts as unfounded, though he admits the change in the position of the Lord's Prayer, and defends it on the following grounds:—"We therefore say the Our Father immediately after the prayer [*i.e.*, the Canon], because it was the custom of the Apostles to consecrate the Host of the Oblation according to the same prayer, and it seemed extremely unfitting that we should say over the Oblations, a prayer which a Scholasticus had made, and not say over His Body and Blood that same prayer which our Redeemer had composed." These words have occasioned considerable difficulty to liturgiologists. Some have taken them to imply that the Apostles consecrated the Eucharist by the use of the Lord's Prayer alone. But the words used by S. Gregory, "according to the same prayer," have a tinge of ambiguity. Some have thought that the words

may be understood to mean that the Apostles never consecrated the Eucharist without using the Lord's Prayer. But this interpretation is very doubtful, since, in a Liturgy which is undoubtedly very primitive and bears the name of one of the earliest bishops of Rome, S. Clement, this prayer is not found; while in Justin Martyr's Apology, which contains the earliest authentic account of the celebration of the Eucharist, there is no mention of this prayer. The words in the Apology which seem to apply most directly to the Consecration, are these: "The President says the prayer of Thanksgiving or Blessing of more than ordinary length." The Abbé Guéranger conjectures that the word "consecrate" was used by S. Gregory to signify certain ritual acts done after the actual consecration, and before the Communion, *e.g.*, the words used in the earliest Roman Orders and retained in the present Missal at the Commixture: "May this Commixture and Consecration of the Body and Blood of Christ be made to us who receive for life eternal." But this mode of escape from the difficulty cannot be accepted, as S. Gregory's words clearly refer to the actual consecration. Le Brun meets the difficulty boldly by saying: "The learned Bishop made a slip" ("*mot échappé*"). Duchesne has this remark: "In spite of the authority of these words, one is not bound to believe that the Apostolic Liturgy knew no other formula than the Pater; yet it is difficult to deny that S. Gregory thought so."

"Institutions,
Liturgies,"
vol. 1.

I now pass on to the consideration of the Roman Sacramentaries. By a Sacramentary is intended a book which included those parts of the Mass which

were said by the celebrant at the Altar, but did not contain the Epistles, Gospels, Graduals, Antiphons, or Introits, which were variable, and were said or sung by others than the celebrant. These Sacramentaries bear the names of SS. Leo, Gelasius, and Gregory. I will take the last first, as being purely Roman; while the Gelasian has some Gallican admixtures. There are three different Codices of the Gregorian book: one published at Rome by Pamelius, Canon of Bruges, in 1571; another at Rome (in 1597) by Angelus Rocca, Sacristan of Clement VIII.; and a third put forth in 1692 by Hugo Menardus, a monk of the Benedictine Abbey of S. Maur on the Loire, which was taken from a MS. of S. Eligius, Bishop of Noyau in the VII. century (648). The last codex was enriched with preface and notes by the editor. Towards the close of the VIII. century Pope Hadrian sent a letter to Charlemagne, in which reference is made to a request of the Emperor that the Pope would send a copy of the Sacramentary arranged by S. Gregory. The Pope sent the book by John, a monk, and Abbot of Ravenna. This book probably included only those parts which are said by the priest at the Altar, but not the variable portions sung by the choir. All the churches of Gaul were required to make this text the basis of their Liturgical use; but, in many cases, it was combined with the Missals previously in use in Gaul, chiefly the Gelasian, which was of French origin. The Gregorian Sacramentary contains (*a*) the ordinary and canon, so far as the Agnus Dei; (*b*) the collects, prefaces, and other variable parts for days of feast, which were said by the celebrant. The codex com-

Le Brun,
vol. ii. p.
155.

See
Duchesne,
p. 116.

mences with the Christmas Eve service, and embraces the whole of the ecclesiastical year; the Missæ for Advent being placed at the end. There are no Masses for the Sundays between Epiphany and Lent, nor between Easter and Advent. The proper of the seasons contains services for Advent, Christmas, Lent, Paschal Week, Ascension, Pentecost, and the Ember seasons. The Feasts of the Saints are set down in irregular order in the midst of the movable feasts, but the course of the Lent and Paschal services is uninterrupted. The Abbé Duchesne has pointed out that this Sacramentary is a book intended for use only in Rome, and contains such prayers as belonged to the ceremonies over which the Pope presided; but is not suited for the Roman rites in other places. It is especially adapted to the Services of the Stations, which were, for the most part, appointed by this Pope; and hence it is that the Sundays and other feasts which were not Station days, are omitted. The book contains much of a date later than the time of S. Gregory, *e.g.*, the festival commemorating his death. There are other additions of a later date, *viz.*, services for Ash Wednesday and the three following days, the Stations for the Thursdays in Lent (which were appointed by Pope Gregory II.), the festivals of the Blessed Virgin, and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which were introduced during the VII. century.

A few words should now be said concerning the Gelasian and Leonine Sacramentaries. The Pontificate of S. Gelasius extended from 492 to 496; but the book which bears his name contains much of a later date than his own age and even that of S.

Gregory. The MS. was preserved in a collection of Sacramentaries in the Benedictine Abbey of S. Maur on the Loire. When the Abbey was destroyed by fire, the remains of the library, which escaped destruction, were carried to Paris, and this Sacramentary passed into the hands of Senator Paul Petau, and afterwards found its way into the library of the Queen of Sweden, and was eventually conveyed to Rome. It was examined by Morinus and Cardinal Bona, and was regarded by them as a representative of the Sacramentary attributed to S. Gelasius. It was published in Rome by Cardinal Thomasius in 1680, under the title "*Liber Sacramentorum Romanæ Ecclesiæ*." The codex was republished by Muratori in the first volume of his "*Liturgia Romana Vetus*," and he attached to it the name of Gelasius. The earliest published edition of the MS. is assigned to the end of the VII. or the beginning of the VIII. century. Soon after, two other MSS. were discovered in the Abbeys of Reichenau and S. Gall. The dates assigned to these are the VIII. and IX. century. The name of Gelasius is not attached to either of these MSS.; but is affixed to the codex published by Muratori and Thomasius. The Abbé Duchesne is of opinion that the only authority for assigning this Pope's name to the book is derived from tradition. Other authorities are quoted as attributing portions of the Missal, at least, to S. Gelasius. These are Gennadius, Priest of Marsilles at the close of the V. century; the "*Liber Pontificalis*"; Walafrid Strabo, who lived in the first half of the IX. century, in the neighbour-

See Le
Brun, pp.
152-154.

See
Duchesne,
p 124.

hood of S. Gall; and John the deacon, in his Life of S. Gregory. The Sacramentary is supposed by Mr Wilson (in his edition of the Missal), following the Abbé Duchesne, to have been written in the end of the VII. or the beginning of the VIII. century. It was written for the use of some Church in the Frankish dominion, possibly for the Abbey of S. Denis. It was probably at the first purely Roman, but when used in France it was combined with parts of the Gothic Missal, and thus became much Gallicanised. Its introduction into France was prior to the time when Pope Hadrian, at Charlemagne's request, sent there the Gregorian book. It has no mention of any Roman basilica, nor is there any local Roman reference.¹ There are prayers for the Frankish Kings in the place where the Hadrian Sacramentary has prayers only for the Pope. Other marks of similarity between this Sacramentary and the Gallican use are found—(a) in the order of the Ordination Services; (b) the distribution of Feasts; (c) the term "Post clausum Paschæ," applied to the Sundays between Easter and Pentecost; (d) in possessing the Feast of the Invention of the Cross and the Passion of S. John Baptist, which are not in the Gregorian. There are other differences between the two Sacramentaries, *e.g.*, in the Gelasian there is a plurality of collects at each Mass; in the Gregorian only one. The Gelasian has three Masses on Holy

¹ About the year 800 the *Filioque* was added to the Nicene Creed, but the clause is not found in this Sacramentary; and, therefore, it must have been written before that date. Also the Mass of the 5th Feria (that is Thursday) in Lent, which was instituted by Pope Gregory II., is not found in the Gelasian Sacramentary.

Thursday: (a) for the Reconciliation of Penitents; (b) for the Benediction of Oils; (c) for the Office of the Evening; while in the Gregorian there is only one Mass for the day.¹ The reservation of the Blessed Sacrament made on Good Friday included, in the Gelasian use, both kinds; while in the Gregorian, the Sacrament of the Body only was reserved.

The Gelasian Sacramentary is divided into three books (*libri*) or parts: the first is entitled "Ordo de Anni Circulo," and contains services for the chief Festivals, beginning with the Vigil of the Nativity, and the Sundays from Lent to Pentecost. It contains Masses for the Ordinations of Sub-deacons, Deacons, and Priests, used during the first week of Lent. On the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Sundays of Lent, Masses were said, entitled "Pro Scrutinio," on behalf of catechumens who were preparing for baptism on Easter Eve. On the seventh feria in Passion Week and on the fifth in the Holy Week there are special prayers and benedictions over these catechumens; also an exposition of the Gospels, which is entitled "*Apertio aurium*," or the opening of the ears, where the words of Ezekiel, describing the faces of the four living creatures which he saw in vision, are applied to the Evangelists. The "face of a man" is given to S. Matthew, "because he begins his Gospel with the

¹ "*Missa Vespertina*," or Evening Mass, was the Mass celebrated in Lent on Wednesdays and Fridays and other fasting days. The reason of this late celebration was that the fast, which was strictly observed till the afternoon or evening, either three or six o'clock, was not broken till after the Mass. On other days the celebration was in the morning and was termed the "*Missa Matutina*."

genealogy of our Lord; the face of a lion is assigned to S. Mark, who begins his Gospel, saying, 'A voice as from a wilderness,' or because he reigns unconquered; the face of an ox is given to S. Luke because, after the likeness of an ox, our Saviour was offered in sacrifice; S. John has the likeness of the eagle, since he sought after things exceeding high, for he says: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God.'" The "*Traditio Symboli*," or the giving of the Creed to the catechumens elected for baptism, was observed towards the end of Lent. The Creed which is used is the Nicene or Constantinopolitan, without the Filioque. An acolyte, holding one of the elect, *i.e.*, one of those to be baptised, says the Creed first in Greek and then in Latin; and after this an explanation of it is given by the Presbyter. The Lord's Prayer, preceded by a short Preface, follows, and is accompanied by a brief explanation of each part, and an address.

On Good Friday there are many Collects for all sorts and conditions of men, much as in the existing Roman Missal. These prayers being ended, the Body and Blood of the Lord, which had been reserved since the previous day, are placed on the Altar, and the Priest, having venerated and kissed the Cross, says an Our Father. Then all venerate the Cross, and communicate.

On the Holy Sabbath there are Benedictions of the Paschal candle and of incense; and also many lections and collects, as on Good Friday. These are followed by Baptisms, preceded by the benediction of

the font. Immediately after the Mass for the Easter Octave, there is one which is headed "*Orationes et Preces de Pascha Annotina*," a kind of commemorative service designed to preserve the recollection of the blessings and grace obtained for us by the Resurrection. After this comes a Mass called "*Orationes et Preces in Parochia*," consisting of prayers for those newly baptised. There follow as many as twenty-nine consecutive prayers, "*Orationes*," all referring to the blessings of Easter and of baptism, and containing petitions for perseverance and for the obtaining of eternal life. The Sundays which follow, until the Ascension, are entitled "*Post clausum Paschæ*." On the Vigil of Pentecost there are baptisms with prayers and ceremonies similar to those of Easter Eve; and two Masses are said. There are evening prayers (*Orationes ad vespervas*) for use in the Octave, and two of these are now found in the Roman Missal in the preparation for Mass. Notice of the Fasts of the fourth, seventh, and tenth month, *i.e.*, of the Ember Seasons, is directed to be given, and the Mass of the Trinity Ember Season immediately follows. The rest of the first book is taken up with Services for divers Benedictions, Consecrations, and Reconciliation of Penitents. Among these there are Benedictions over the Arians and other heretics on their return to the Catholic Church, the Consecration of a new church, Ordinations of Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and some minor Orders; and also the Consecration of Virgins. The second book, entitled "*De Natalitiis Sanctorum*," is entirely occupied with the Services for the Festivals of Saints, excepting that there are

Masses, Lections, and Prayers for the Fasts of the seventh and the tenth months, *i.e.*, the Ember Seasons of September and Advent. There are also at the end of the book five Masses for Advent. The third book contains the Services for the ordinary Sundays, and the Canon of the Mass; Masses for daily use, for the dead, for various occasions and necessities.

There remains for consideration the so-called Leonine Sacramentary. In this, as in similar cases, the Saint whose name it bears cannot be claimed as the author or compiler of the whole Missal; though it is most probable that many of its parts were written by him. It was discovered in the library of the Chapter at Verona by Bianchini, a Canon of that church, and was published by him in 1735. The MS. is of the VII. century, and is so seriously mutilated that of the twelve sections corresponding to the twelve months of the year, nine only are preserved; and of these the first, *i.e.*, of the month of April, is incomplete. The following particulars may be taken in evidence of its antiquity:—(a) in the Service for Baptism, as used at Pentecost, milk and honey are blessed, and are given to the newly baptised with the prayer that they may be brought into the promised land flowing with milk and honey. This custom is referred to by Tertullian and other early authorities, but it is not found in the Gelasian or Gregorian Sacramentary. It may, therefore, be inferred that this portion of the Leonine is older than either of these two; (b) there is no Commemoration of confessors, which Commemorations were not introduced till the end of the V. century; (c) the Vulgate

See
Duchesne,
pp. 129-132.

version is not used, but the old Italic; (d) the book contains many prayers for protection against enemies and of thanksgiving for victories. These doubtless belonged to the times when the Goths and Vandals invaded and pillaged Italy. Among these prayers there is one which clearly points to a state of siege, for reference is made to the fruits of the field, in these words: "Which Thou didst grant to the labours of Thy servants, and dost now suffer to be taken from us in our sight" [*i.e.*, as seen from the walls of the city] "by aliens, and consumed by our enemies." The Abbé Duchesne is of opinion that this prayer refers to the siege of Rome by the Goths under Vitiges, A.D. 537, which lasted above a year, which would make this portion of the Sacramentary as old, at least, as the end of the VI. century. The book is entirely Roman, and there is no Gallican admixture. The local references show that it was used in Rome, and probably there only. The existing MS. commences with the month of April in a Mass for Ember Days, and contains also Masses for Ascension, Pentecost, Apostles, and other Martyrs, and for various necessities. The different parts are thrown together in a very discordant manner. It, moreover, contains declarations and accusations concerning various people, *e.g.*, God is told "that in His Church, there are false Confessors mixed with the true"; reference is made to "enemies, calumniators, proud persons who think themselves better than others whom they devour; who assume pious manners that they may do the greater harm"; and more of the same character. This certainly is a very extra-

ordinary feature in a liturgy, and the Abbé Duchesne assumes that these portions of the Sacramentary could only be the work of a private hand, and could be tolerated only in small and clandestine assemblies, in which the celebrant, availing himself of his licence, gave full course to his rancour. These objectionable portions of the Missal are, however, comparatively few, and form an exception to the rest.

It is not a complete Missal, since it contains neither the Canon nor, for the most part, the Ordinary of the Mass, but only certain Missæ for the various days. There is a copious abundance of Prefaces and of other prayers.

The Stations and the Roman Orders.

I will now treat of the "Stations" as they were celebrated in Rome in the time of S. Gregory; and of the "*Ordines Romani*," which contained the ceremonies used on those occasions. The "Stations" were in use before the time of S. Gregory, but he arranged and ordered them and appointed the days and churches when and where they should be celebrated. The word "Station," in quite early times, was used to denote days of religious services as well as of fasting. Thus, we find Wednesdays and Fridays termed "Station" days, by which was meant days of fasting. In S. Gregory's time the word was used in a different sense, yet one closely associated with its original use, since it always included an assembly for Eucharistic worship, preceded by a procession.

There were private "Stations" in which there was the celebration without any previous procession. The "Stations," as ordered and arranged by S. Gregory, may be described as assemblies of clergy and people gathered together in an appointed church, where certain prayers were said; and then all proceeded, in due and solemn order, to another church wherein the Holy Mysteries were celebrated, and to this church the name of "Station" was given. These assemblies were termed "Collecta," and the prayers said over them were called "*Orationes ad Collectam*," which was contracted into "Collecta" or Collect. During the procession Litanies were sung, and sometimes a pause was made on the way while prayers were said. There were four classes of churches at which these stations were made—Basilican and titular churches, cemetery chapels, and those called Diaconia, attached to a hospital in which the regionary deacons distributed alms to the poor, to widows, and the aged. The Basilican churches were those which were pre-eminent and had special privileges. The "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities" (see article "Basilica") numbers seven churches as bearing this title, viz., S. Peter Vatican, S. John Lateran, S. Mary the Greater, The Holy Cross in Jerusalem, S. Paul without the Walls, S. Lorenzo, and S. Sebastian. The "titular" churches were parish churches with districts assigned to them. The chief station days, besides those of the saints whose name they bear, and in whose honour they were celebrated, were the Nativity, Easter, and the Ember Seasons. The processions on Rogation Days

and on S. Mark's Day, which are still in use in the Latin Church, are survivals of the stational processions.

For the ceremonies which accompanied the Services of the Stations we must turn to the Roman Orders (*"Ordines Romani"*). These Orders were published in Cologne (1591) by a learned Flemish doctor, George Cassander, in four books. Seven years after, these were republished by Hittorpius, a dignitary of Cologne. Mabillon took this Codex and supplemented what was wanting by another belonging to the Monastery of S. Gall, and published it in the second volume of the *"Musæum Italicum,"* 1689.¹ The most ancient may probably be assigned to the close of the VIII. or beginning of the IX. century. There were many others of later date. Mabillon has published as many as sixteen, extending, according to the Abbé Duchesne, from the IX. to the XV. century. I restrict myself to the earliest, as my purpose is to illustrate the *ancient* Roman Liturgy.

Before entering on a detailed description of the Roman Orders, it may be well to say a word on the ecclesiastical and territorial arrangements which had place in Rome during the Pontificate of S. Gregory; and also to give a brief description of the churches in which the Stations were held. The city was divided into seven regions, over the whole of which

¹ These orders were republished by Muratori in 1748 in the volume of his *"Liturgia Romana Vetus."* They are also contained in the Appendix of Duchesne's *"Origines du Culte chrétien,"* as taken from an old MS. of the 9th century, which has this title written at the end, *"Almæ Ecclesiæ Sancti Amandi in Pabula Liber."*

the Archdeacon presided, while each separate region was placed under a deacon, who bore the name of regionary deacon, and was assisted in his office by sub-deacons and acolytes. These deacons, sub-deacons, and acolytes were under obligation to take their assigned parts in the Pope's Stational Mass, especially when held in the region over which they presided. And, besides the ecclesiastics, there were certain other officials belonging to the Pope's court.

The Roman basilicas were oblong in shape. In the Apostolical Constitutions the church is compared to a ship, and in the West the larger portion of the building has always received the name of nave, which is from the Latin *navis*, a ship. The churches, as a rule, were built eastward and westward, and in most cases the Altar was at the east end, although in some it was at the west. In Orientated churches the Celebrant faced eastward, and the people were behind him; in churches which had the Altar in the west end he still faced eastward, and, consequently, the choir and congregation were in front of him. The ancient basilicas consisted of four parts—(a) The narthex or porch, at the entrance, where the penitents and catechumens had place; (b) the nave, which was assigned to the faithful, the men being placed on the south and the women on the north. At the further end of the nave, nearest to the Sanctuary, the Senators and the more noble of the laity had place, within what, in consequence, was called the Senatorium; while the north side, opposite to the Senatorium, was assigned to the noble matrons or more dignified women; (c) eastward of the nave was the choir, or "Chorus

Cantorum." This was considerably raised above the floor of the nave, from which it was entered by steps. It was enclosed on the north and south sides by a balustrade or wall, usually of marble, and about six feet in height. In the choir there were two ambones, from which were read the Epistle and Gospel, and anciently, the Prophecy. In some instances there was at the entrance into the choir a double ambo, from which the Epistle was read to the north and the Gospel to the south.¹ In other cases they were attached to the balustrades on the north and south sides, and this arrangement was made in order that the sight of the Altar might not be obstructed by the ambones. Beyond the choir, eastward in Orientated churches, rose the Sanctuary or Bema. This, again, was raised some steps above the choir, and was separated from it, by the Cancelli or chancel screen, and approached by gates called *Regiæ*, *i.e.*, Royal, because richly adorned. The space between the Sanctuary and choir was called the *Solea*, and it was in this part of the church that the court officials and some minor clerics, who were not permitted to enter the Sanctuary, received the Communion. The Altar was placed in the centre of the Sanctuary under a vaulted canopy supported by pillars, named the *Ciborium* or *Baldachino*. It was in the form of a square table supported by four legs or columns, with no super-altar or gradine, and was surrounded by a low balustrade, and screened off by curtains of rich stuff. Underneath the Altar was the Confession, which contained the bodies or relics of martyrs and

¹ The Gospel was always read towards the men.

other saints. At the extreme end of the church, beyond or behind the Altar, was the Presbytery, which consisted of a semi-circle of seats, the centre of which was elevated above the rest, and was occupied by the Pontiff as his throne. The seats on either side were used by the Priests, and Bishops, if any were present; the Bishops sitting on the right, and the Priests on the left, of the Pontiff. The Presbytery was raised a little above the Altar. The Sacristy was in the lower part of the church, near the entrance, and in Orientated churches it was on the south or men's side.

To return to the Stational Processions and the accompanying ceremonies. We have said that the people and clergy assembled in a given church, and from thence proceeded, with great pomp and solemnity, to the church in which the Holy Mysteries were to be celebrated. The Procession included not only the ecclesiastics, but also the lay officials of the Papal Court. The Pope and many of the officials rode, others proceeded on foot; the deacon, sub-deacons, and acolytes of the region in which the church of the Station was situated, being specially bound to attend and wait on the Pontiff. Some accompanied the procession, others proceeded to the Stational Church that they might receive him, on his arrival, with much honour. When the Pontiff drew near the church, he was met and welcomed with great reverence by the acolytes and the advocates of the region, and also by the Presbyter or Presbyters of the church in which the Station was held. These having received the Pope with great respect and helped him to alight, sought his benediction, and

then, dividing themselves into two rows or files, preceded him into the church. The Bishops resident in Rome with the Presbyters, seated in the Presbytery, awaited his arrival.

The Pope, on entering the church, did not at once proceed to the Altar, but went to the Sacristy, which, as we have said, was situated towards the lower part of the church. The deacon, who was appointed to read the Gospel, opens the book at the bidding of the archdeacon, and places it on the chasuble of the acolyte, who carries it towards the Altar into the Sanctuary, where a sub-deacon receives it from the acolyte and places it very reverently upon the Altar. While this is being done the Pope is solemnly vested by the regionary sub-deacons, and other officials. As the last vestment, the pallium, is placed on the Pontiff, the deacon or sub-deacon asks for a blessing, and the Pope says: "The Lord save us," to which the response "Amen" is given. A sub-deacon is then appointed to read the Epistle, and a cantor to intone the Introit.¹ As soon as the cantor has begun the Introit, the deacons enter the Sacristy, and the Pontiff, arising from his seat, is conducted by the archdeacon and the second deacon, into the church. The Pontiff is preceded by a deacon carrying incense See Note III. in a golden censer, and seven acolytes bearing lights. As he approaches the Altar he is met by two other acolytes carrying a "capsa" or small case, containing the "Sancta." The Sancta was a portion of the Host See Note I.

¹ The Introit or Antiphon, which was sung while the Pope with his ministers enter into the church, consisted originally of a whole psalm or at least many verses, but it was afterwards abridged.

consecrated at a previous Mass, and was reserved that it might be consumed at the following celebration. The "capsa" was presented opened to the Pope, who venerated the Sancta, and if there was a larger portion than was required for this occasion, the Pope directed that so much of It as was not then required should be placed in the Conditorium, that is the Aumbry or Receptacle, while the Particle broken off was placed on the Altar. The procession is resumed, and when it has reached the choir the light-bearers separate themselves into two files, four being on the right and three on the left. The Pope makes a reverence to the Altar on which the Sancta had been placed, and rising, makes the sign of the Cross, and signifies to the precentor that he

See Note II. should sing the Gloria which concluded the Introit. The faldstool is then placed in front of the Altar and the Pope kneels before it. The deacons rise and go, two and two, and kiss the sides (*latera*) of the Altar. The Pontiff also rises, kisses the Altar and the book of the Gospels which had been placed upon it, and then goes to his seat or throne behind the Altar. The choir now begin the Kyrie, unless it has been sung in procession, while the precentor makes a sign to the Pontiff that he should signify if he

See Note IV. wished to change the number of the Kyries.¹ As soon as the Kyrie is ended the Pontiff, turning

See Note V. round to the people, begins the "Gloria in Excelsis";

¹ From this it would appear that at this time the Pope might curtail the number of Kyries at his will. One writer (Paris de Crassis) says that the Kyries went on as long as the Cardinals were doing homage to the Pope.

See KRAZER,
p. 378.

but immediately turns back with his face towards the east till it is concluded.¹ Then, turning again to the people, he says: "Pax vobis"; again turning eastward, he says: "Oremus," but no prayer is given. The second Roman Order has here the prayer (*Oratio*) which is called the "Collect." But, as we have seen, this title was originally given to the prayer said over the people collected together in the church from which the Stational procession started. In the Ambrosian Liturgy it is called "*Oratio super populum*"; in the Gallican "*Collectio post prophetiam*," by which is meant the "*Benedictus*," or song of Zacharias, which was sung or said just before; in the Mozarabic it is styled simply "*Oratio*," as in the Roman. The regionary sub-deacons then go up and stand on the right or left of the Altar, and the Pontiff makes a sign to the Bishops and Priests that they should sit. The sub-deacon ascends the ambo and reads the Epistle, facing east.²

The Epistle being ended, a response was sung, called the Gradual because it was sung from the steps of the ambo. In its earliest form it consisted of a psalm sung by one voice, and responded to by the whole choir. Duchesne says that up to the time of S. Gregory it was sung by the deacons

¹ It was only in Orientated churches that he turned to face the east; in Occidentated churches he was always facing east, and therefore did not turn.

² At a later period acclamations called "*Laudes*" were interposed between the Epistle and Gospel. They were short prayers for the Pope, which at first were cast in the form of versicles, but afterwards developed into a brief Litany. See Mabillon, "*Roman Order*," xiii., and Krazer, 408.

only. The Alleluia followed the Gradual, excepting in Lent and other days of penitence, when the "Tract" was substituted for it.¹ The "Sequence," which came in later, was really the continuation of the Alleluia; and the later Sequences are in the form of hymns. It was sometimes called the Prose, because it was not written in the quantitative measure of the earlier hymns, but in rhythmical prose. The chief author of these Sequences was Notker, Monk of S. Gall, in the IX. century. When the Prophecy was read the Gradual had place between it and the Epistle, and the Alleluia or Tract was sung between the Epistle and Gospel; but after the discontinuance of the Prophecy² these were all sung between the Epistle and Gospel. Before the reading of the Gospel the deacon kneels at the feet of the Pontiff and silently seeks a blessing, which the Pontiff gives in these words: "The Lord be in thy heart and on thy lips." The deacon goes to the Altar, and, having kissed the

See Note
VII.

¹ The "Tract" was a piece, generally a psalm, sung by one voice in a sustained manner, uninterrupted by responds or antiphons.

² In the earliest ages a lesson was read from the Old Testament, called a Prophecy. We learn from Justin Martyr's description of the Liturgy that the Commentaries of the Apostles and the writings of the Prophets were read. And we find Lections from the Old Testament in the Apostolical Constitutions. The Mozarabic and Ambrosian Liturgies contain the Prophecy, as the Gallican also did. S. Augustine refers to it as in use in the North African Church. It was almost certainly used at an early period in Rome. In S. Clement's, which passes for the oldest Church in Rome, there are three amboes, two on the right side of the choir, and one turned towards the Altar; from one of those turned towards the people, the Prophecy was read, and from the other the Epistle and Gospel.

See Scudamores
"Notitia,"
pp. 238-242.

book of the Gospels, takes it into his hands, and goes to the ambo, preceded by two regionary sub-deacons, one bearing the thurible, and two acolytes carrying lighted tapers. (This number was later on increased to seven.) On reaching the ambo the two acolytes stand on either side of the lowest step, and place the candles on the pavement. The deacon and the sub-deacons ascend the steps of the ambo, the deacon bearing the Gospel, and one of the sub-deacons the thurible. The sub-deacon, who does not carry the thurible, opens the book at the place appointed, and the deacon ascends the higher steps and reads the Gospel. The sub-deacons descend and stand before the lowest step. According to the second Roman Order, the deacon first says: "The Lord be with you," and all the people respond: "And with thy spirit." When this has been said, the Pontiff and all the clergy turn to the east, and the deacon gives out the Gospel saying: "Here beginneth the Holy Gospel according to" S. Luke, or one of the Evangelists, and then makes the sign of the Cross on his forehead and on his breast, while the Pontiff, the clergy, and all the people do the like. Then all turn towards the Gospel and say: "Glory be to Thee, O Lord." As soon as the Gospel is ended, the Pontiff says: "Peace be unto you" and again "The Lord be with you"; the response follows: "And with thy spirit." The sub-deacon who had opened the book of the Gospel, gives it to the "following" sub-deacon, who, holding it before him on his chasuble, stretches it out to be kissed, first by the Bishop and clergy in their order, and then to the people. The book was presented open

P. 481. to the clergy, and closed to the people. Krazzer adds: "This was done for a sign of reverence and communion with our Lord Jesus Christ and His Doctrine." Anciently, in the Roman Church, the Epistle and Gospel were read in Greek as well as in Latin, and for this purpose there were both Latin and Greek deacons and sub-deacons. This fact affords confirmation of the opinion that the Liturgy itself was originally in Greek.

See Note
VIII.

There is no direction given concerning a sermon either in S. Gregory's Sacramentary or in the earliest Roman Orders. We possess, however, many homilies which were delivered by SS. Gregory, Leo, and others; and we find in several basilicas in Rome homilies of S. Gregory engraven on the backs of stone chairs, from which it is probable they were originally delivered. It is thought by some that S. Gregory gave no direction concerning the sermon, in order that he might leave his successors free in the matter. The Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed is not found in the first Roman Order, nor in the Sacramentaries of SS. Gelasius or Gregory; but the second Roman Order directs it to be said in this place. The Liturgical use of this Creed began, naturally, in the east. After the Creed is said, the Pontiff salutes the people, saying: "The Lord be with you," and "Let us pray." No prayer follows, nor is there any direction given to the people to pray privately; but the choir immediately begins the Antiphon now called the Offertory. The deacon who has read the Gospel returns to the Altar, where he meets an acolyte holding a Chalice with the Corporal spread

See Note
IX.

See Note X.

over it; the acolyte passes the Chalice into his left hand, and gives the Corporal to the deacon, who, with the help of the second deacon, spreads it over the Altar, and places the Chalice upon it. While the choir sing the Offertory the people make their offerings. The account given in the Roman Orders of the manner in which this was done is intricate, but I think the following description will be found substantially correct:—Certain officials of the Papal Court (notaries and custodians) approach the throne of the Pontiff, who, stretching out his right hand to the first and the left hand to the second of these officials, descends into the Senatorium. The Pope receives the bread-offerings of the senators and hands them to the regionary sub-deacon, who conveys them to the “following” sub-deacon, and he places them on a linen cloth held by two acolytes. The Bishop on duty for the week receives the rest of the offerings of the people and places them on the “Sindon” or linen cloth held by the two acolytes. The Pontiff, having received the oblations of the chief of the laity, goes to the Solea, *i.e.*, the place before the Confession, and there receives the offerings of the Court Officials (already referred to); he then passes to the place occupied by the noble matrons or chief women, which was opposite the Senatorium, and receives their offering in the same manner as the offerings of the men. The archdeacon receives the offering of wine in small cruets or “Amulæ,” and pours the contents into a large Chalice (Calix Major) held by the regionary sub-deacon. An acolyte follows the sub-deacon, bearing another Chalice

“Episcopus hebdomadarius.”

called the "Scyphus," into which the wine was poured from the larger Chalice.

The Pontiff is conducted back to his throne by the officials aforementioned, and washes his hands. Anciently, the deacons or sub-deacons poured the water on his hands, but, later on, the acolytes or even the noble laity performed this office. The archdeacon also washes his hands standing before the Altar. The purpose of these ablutions was to cleanse the hands from any adhesions of the oblations which might have occurred in receiving them from the people. The archdeacon, on receiving a sign from the Pontiff, reverently approaches the Altar, which, as we have seen, had been prepared for the Sacrifice by two deacons having spread the Corporal upon it. Then the regionary sub-deacon takes the offerings from the "following" sub-deacon, and sets them in order on the Altar. He then takes the Amula, which contains the Pontiff's own offering of wine, from the hands of the oblationary deacon, whose office it was to bear the Pope's offering, and pours it into the Chalice through a cullender. After this the "following" sub-deacon goes down into the choir, and, receiving water from the hands of the precentor, carries it to the archdeacon, who pours it, in the form of a Cross, into the Chalice. The Pontiff, attended by deacons and court officials, descends from his throne to the Altar, salutes it with a sacred kiss, and receives the offerings of the Presbyters, the deacons, and the chief officials. The archdeacon then takes from the oblationary deacon the Pope's own oblation of breads, and gives them to

the Pontiff, who places them on the Altar.¹ The archdeacon receives the Chalice (the handles being covered with a fair linen cloth called the "Offertory") from the hand of the regionary sub-deacon, and places it on the Altar by the side of the Pope's oblation, and, standing behind the Pontiff, gives a sign to the choir that they should be silent. In the second Roman Order, the Pontiff, turning to the people, says "*Orate*," and this brief exhortation was afterwards extended into the form now used in the Roman Missal: "Brethren, pray that your and my Sacrifice may be made acceptable before God the Father Almighty." The preparatory acts having been now accomplished, the Pontiff turns from the people towards the Altar. As in the Jewish ritual of the Great Day of Atonement the High Priest passed out of the sight of the people, through the Veils, into the Holy of Holies, and there sprinkled before the Mercy Seat the blood of the Sacrifice which he had offered without, so, at this place in the Liturgy of the Eastern Church, the Holy Doors of the Sanctuary were closed, and the Priest hidden from the sight of the worshippers. It is also most probable that in the Western Liturgies at this part of the service the curtains on either side of the Altar were drawn in front,

¹ When the offering of the oblations, or so much of them as should be consecrated, was made, the Priest or Pontiff said a prayer called in the Gelasian "*Secreta*," and in the Gregorian, Ambrosian, and Gothic Missal "*Super oblata*." The term "*Secreta*" is supposed by some to be given to this prayer because it was said over the gifts which were separated from the other offerings in order to be consecrated. Another reason given is that the prayer was said secretly.

and thus veiled the Priest from the sight of the congregation. The idea seems to be that the Priest now turns from direct communication with the people and addresses himself only to God, with Whom he is thus brought into solemn and intimate communion. On this account a Prayer which is said here in some Liturgies is called the Prayer of the Veil. The verses "Benedictus qui venit," &c., were added to the Ter-Sanctus, and are still found in the Roman and other Western Missals, and in the most ancient Eastern Liturgies. The order in which the Bishops and clergy were placed during the Canon is not very clearly stated in the Roman Order, but apparently it was thus: The Bishops were immediately behind the Pontiff, who stood at the Altar facing east; the archdeacon on the right and the second deacon on the left of the Bishops. The regionary sub-deacons go behind the Altar (*i.e.*, facing the Pontiff) that they may carefully attend, and make the responses at the end of each prayer. The Bishops and Presbyters recited the Canon together with the Pontiff, and in doing this they were said to con-celebrate with him.

See Note
XII.

The text of the Canon as given in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, is the same as that which is contained in the present Roman Missal; excepting that the second memento is not in the Gelasian. Its history, as has been said, is very embarrassing, its order peculiar, and it bears traces of what seems to be the remains of a more ancient rite. There is no recital of God's work of creation, or of Christ's Redemptive Acts, which form so marked a feature of the Eastern

Liturgies. I quote again from the *Dublin Review*; —“Among all Liturgies the Roman Canon stands alone in not passing by a continuous transition from the Sanctus to the words of Institution; alone in inserting distinct prayers of Commemoration at this point of the Liturgy; alone, again, in separating the memento of the living from that of the dead.” It may be said that the first section of the Canon belongs more properly to the Offertory or oblation of the elements, which are here offered under the names of gifts (“*dona*”), presents, or offerings (“*munera*”), and are called these “holy and pure and immaculate sacrifices”; and are offered for “the peace, safety, unity, and good government of the Catholic Church; then for the Pope, the Bishop, and all Catholic and orthodox Christians.” The next section (“*memento*”) corresponds to the ancient diptychs of the living, in which besides the names of kings, bishops, and other eminent persons, the names of those who brought offerings were recited, and others not named, were specially prayed for in these words: “Who themselves offer to Thee this Sacrifice of Praise for themselves and all belonging to them, for the hope of safety and salvation, and who pay their vows to Thee, the Eternal, True, and Living God.” Words such as these clearly refer to the time when all the worshippers were required to bring offerings of bread and wine. The names were recited by the deacon from two tablets called “diptychs.” In the Mozarabic and Gallican Missals they were recited just after the first oblation or offering; in the Eastern Liturgies after the Consecration; albeit there were prayers corresponding to

these accompanying the Offertory in several Eastern Liturgies.

Here follows the Commemoration of the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles, Martyrs, and all Saints. The only parallel to the use of such a Commemoration in this place is, as far as I know, found in the Gallican family, as represented by the Mozarabic Liturgy; only, as has been said, these Commemorations are there placed after the first Oblation and before the Ter-Sanctus. Another prayer follows that "God would mercifully accept the oblation . . . dispose our days in His peace and deliver us from eternal damnation, and command us to be numbered with the flock of His Elect." The oblation offered by these words is, in itself, only bread and wine. In the next section there is the prayer that "God would vouchsafe to make the oblation blessed (*'benedictam'*), dedicated (*'ascriptam'*), sure (*'ratam'*), reasonable (*'rationabilem'*), acceptable (*'acceptabilem'*), so that it may be made to us the Body and Blood of His dear Son Jesus Christ." This prayer bears some resemblance to the "Epiclesis" of the Greek and other ancient Liturgies, but the likeness is marred by considerable differences. The resemblance lies in this, that it is a prayer for blessing on the offered gifts, that they may be endued with the qualities and virtues which are named, and be made to us the Body and Blood of Christ. But there are material variations from the Eastern form; first, in the position of the prayer, which comes before the words of Institution, while in all the Greek and other ancient Liturgies it is after these words, and also after the great

See
Duchesne,
p. 172.

Oblation; secondly, there is no mention of the Holy Ghost as the author of the benediction; thirdly, the benediction is invited, not on the gifts considered by themselves, but in their relation to the Communicants ("that they may be to us"). In the next section we have the words of Institution, with certain additions to the text contained in the Gospels and in other Liturgies, *e.g.*, "He took the Bread into His holy and venerable Hands, and having lifted up His Eyes towards Heaven, to Thee, His Almighty God and Father, giving thanks, He blessed," &c. Similar words are used over the Chalice, and these are added: "This is the Chalice of My Blood, of the New and Eternal Testament, the Mystery of the Faith," &c. This last addition is peculiar to the Roman and Ambrosian rites. These words are first found in the Sacramentaries of SS. Gelasius and Gregory. Some writers suppose that they are derived from Apostolic tradition, others that they were added by Pope Alexander, who is said to have combined the history of the Passion with the prayers of the Priest, when Masses were celebrated. The other additions are found in various Eastern Liturgies. The next section ("Unde et Memores") is the solemn Oblation, and is in its proper place, as in other Liturgies, and is expressed in similar terms. It runs thus:—"Wherefore we Thy servants and Thy holy people, mindful (*memores*) of the Blessed Passion and Resurrection from the dead (*inferis*), and also the glorious Ascension into Heaven of the same Christ our Lord, do offer to Thy glorious (*præclaræ*) Majesty of these Thy gifts and presents (*de donis ac datis*), the Pure Host, the Holy Host, the Immaculate Host, the Holy

Bread of Eternal Life, and the Chalice of Everlasting Salvation." It is observable that here for the first time the gifts offered are called "Hostiæ"; in all acts of offering previous to the Consecration they are called oblata, or oblations, gifts, service (*munera*) or sacrifice; but the word Host is reserved to the Great and tremendous Offering after Consecration, which is the Body and Blood of Christ. It is also noticeable that it is called in the same prayer "The holy Bread of eternal Life." The section which follows (*supra quæ propitio*) is a prayer for the acceptance of the Sacrifice, and seems to draw a parallel between the Eucharistic Oblation and the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedek, which were offerings of lambs and of bread and wine. Some have, therefore, contended that the offering of the Eucharist, as corresponding to these, is only bread and wine. The comparison, however, is not between the gifts offered, but the offerers of the gifts; and the intention of the prayer is that the devotion, the vows, and dispositions of those who offer the Great Sacrifice may be not less fervent than those with which Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedek made their offerings. This contention is strengthened by the fact that, in many Liturgies, in the first Oblation, which is the offering of bread and wine, the same reference is made to the Patriarchal offerings. In the next section, which begins with "Supplices Te rogamus," the Priest asks of Almighty God that "these things (*hæc*) may be borne by the hands of His holy Angel up to His sublime Altar, in the Presence of the Divine Majesty; that so many as shall take the most Holy Body and Blood of Christ

On this
prayer see
"Catholic
Theory of
Consecra-
tion," pp.
18-20.

from the Altar on earth, may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace." The second "Memento," containing prayers for the departed, comes next. It has been shown that the prayer is not found in this place in the Gelasian Sacramentary, nor in the oldest Codices of the Gregorian. At an earlier date it probably had place in combination with the "Memento" for the living. It differs from like prayers in the early Liturgies, inasmuch as it has the petition that the faithful departed may be granted a place, not only of light and peace, but also one of refreshment (*refrigerii*), which word seems to imply a mitigation of, or release from, suffering. In all ancient Liturgies there is no prayer for release from pain or torment. To the prayer for the departed there is added another ("Nobis quoque peccatoribus"), that the worshippers may "have part and fellowship" with "Thy Holy Apostles and Martyrs (the names of fifteen Martyrs are recited); and with all Thy Saints, into whose fellowship we pray Thee that Thou, not weighing our merits, but of Thy Mercy, would admit us."¹ The conclusion of this prayer (*per quem hæc omnia*) is remarkable, since it is clearly the survival of an earlier rite, viz., the Benediction of other fruits of the earth than the Bread and Wine which had been consecrated. These

¹ This is the second Commemoration of the Saints, and it is singular that it should be separated from the earlier one, near the commencement of the Canon, in the prayer "Communicantes." This double Commemoration in different places is held by some as a proof that the Missal reached its present form by additions made at different periods, and that this second Commemoration was added to supply the deficiencies of the first.

See Krazer,
p. 521, note.

words follow the final clause, "Through Whom, O Lord, Thou ever makest all these things good, and dost sanctify, quicken, bless, and bestow them upon us." These words clearly point to the Benediction of the fruits of the earth which God has created, that, through His Benediction, they may be profitable for our use. In the Mass for Ascension Day in the Gelasian Sacramentary there is this prayer: "Bless O Lord these first-fruits which Thou, by dew and abundance of showers from heaven, hast vouchsafed to bring to maturity, so that we may receive them with thanksgiving in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ." Then follows: "Through Whom Thou dost create," &c. Also in the Mass of the Holy Sabbath (*i.e.*, Easter Eve), the milk and honey for the catechumens were blessed by a similar prayer and in the same place.

"Liturgies
and Offices
of the
Church,"
111.

Burbidge has the following remarks on the general plan of the Canon, which, however, I do not adopt as my own: "Having traced back the meaning of words and the ideas respecting the Christian Sacrifice to the times before Pope Leo, when the Canon was formed, it is now possible to consider the general plan which the authors of this ancient Prayer seem to have had in mind. The Preface having led up to the grand idea of universal Thanksgiving and Praise from all created beings, the sacramental gifts are offered with renewed prayer for acceptance, *imprimis*, in the name of the whole Church, which, under the mystical bond of the Communion of Saints, unites in prayer for Peace, and, in particular, for the bishop, the king, and the

faithful of this or that land. *Secondly*, the offering is made in the name of all present, who thus offer their sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving for their own redemption and hope of salvation, according as Christ ordained. *Thirdly*, the offering is continued in the name of the holy and great of other days, the mention of whose names calls forth the prayer that God will hear them in their prayers for the worshippers. All sections of the Universal Church having been thus united in the great act of the Church's worship, the offering is now regarded as the oblation of the whole family of God, '*servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ*'; and, again, '*nos tui servi, sed et plebs tua sancta*,' who make the commemoration of the institution of the Holy Sacrament as a memorial of the Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ. Thus, the idea of the Preface is continued: 'It is meet . . . that we should at all times and in all places give thanks . . . Therefore with angels,' &c. Whether present or absent, the faithful have some sort of share in the service, and whether in this life or in paradise, they join their thanksgivings with the ceaseless adoration of the angels, whose ministry is now asked for to bear to Heaven the imperfect worship of earth, to the end that those who now become partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ, according to His institution, may be fulfilled with grace and heavenly benediction. And, *lastly*, as the thought of the departed is brought to mind, a prayer is added for those who sleep in the sleep of peace, which proves by its simplicity and agreement with similar prayers

in Eastern Liturgies the great antiquity of the Canon, beseeching that refreshment, light, and peace may be granted to them, and some fellowship with them to the worshippers."

The Prayer of the Canon being now completed, the Our Father follows. We have seen that it was by S. Gregory's appointment that this prayer was placed immediately after the Prayer of Consecration in such a way as to form part of the Canon. His words, already given, are: "It is unreasonable that this latter formulary, the work of a scholastic, should alone be recited over the Oblation to the exclusion of the Prayer composed by the Lord Himself." Before his time the Fraction and the Kiss of Peace came between the Canon and the Our Father.

The Our Father is introduced by its Preface, and is in a way amplified by the prayer known as the "Embolismus," which follows the "Deliver us from evil." The Preface is always the same in the Roman rite, while in the Mozarabic it varies with the day. The Our Father is said by the Priest alone until the last petition, in which the people join. In the Greek rites the people join with the Priest in saying the whole Prayer, and this is supposed to have been anciently the case in the Roman Liturgy. The form of the Western "Embolismus" differs from the form of the East in introducing the names of the Blessed Virgin, SS. Peter, Paul, and Andrew as intercessors.

I will now return to the ceremonial part of the Sacramentary as given in the Roman Orders. We have seen that during the Canon the Bishops, with

the archdeacon and second deacon, were placed behind the Pontiff, all being in an inclined or half-prostrate position, and the sub-deacons were behind the Altar, facing the Pontiff. The archdeacon rises at the concluding words of the Canon, goes to the Altar, removes the Corporal which had been placed over the Chalice, and raises the Chalice by the handles (*ansæ*). The Pontiff touches it with his own two oblates or hosts, while he says the final words of the Prayer of the Canon. He then places the two hosts in their place on the Altar, and the archdeacon puts down the Chalice by them, having previously taken off the "offertorium."

It should be noted that at the commencement of the Canon an acolyte approached the Altar from the vestry, carrying the Paten covered with a white linen cloth. He held it thus until the middle of the Canon, when the "following" sub-deacon received it on his chasuble, and, standing before the Altar, he waited until the regionary sub-deacon should take it from him. This having been done, the regionary sub-deacon stands just behind the archdeacon. When the "Embolismus" has been said, the archdeacon turns round, and having kissed the Paten, gives it to the second deacon. The Pontiff, having said "The Peace of the Lord be ever with you," &c., makes the sign of the Cross three times over the Chalice, and places in it a portion of the "Sancta." The Pax followed; the archdeacon having (probably) received it from the Pontiff, gives it to the first of the Bishops and afterwards to the rest of the Bishops and Clergy in order, and then to the people. The Second

Roman Order adds that the Pax was given separately to the men by the men, and to the women by the women. In the Eastern, the Mozarabic, and Gallican Liturgies, the Pax took place before the Sursum Corda and Preface. The Pontiff then breaks his own Oblation, and leaves the fragment he has broken off upon the Altar, but places the rest of the Oblations in the Paten, which the deacon is still holding, and returns to his throne. In the meantime the archdeacon takes the Chalice, containing the precious Blood, from the Altar, and gives It to the regionary sub-deacon or arch-sub-deacon who holds It, standing at the right corner of the Altar. The sub-deacons approach, followed by the acolytes bearing small bags ("*sacculæ*"). The sub-deacons open the bags which the acolytes hold, and the arch-deacon takes the Oblations from the Altar and places them in the bags, in order that they may be broken in them, so that no portion whatever of the Sacred Host may fall on the floor. The acolytes bearing the bags form themselves into two rows; the one goes to the Bishops, who are on the right of the Pontiff, the other to the Presbyters, who are on the left, in order that they may break the Hosts. Two regionary sub-deacons carry the Paten,¹ which contained the Oblations of the Pontiff, to the deacons who occupied a place near the throne, in order that, on receiving

¹ From the fact that two sub-deacons were ordered to carry the Paten from the Altar, it would appear that the Patens of that date were much larger in size than those in present use. In fact, it must necessarily be so, since in those early days all the faithful, as a rule, received the Communion.

a sign from the Pontiff, they might break them. The Oblations having been removed from the Altar and placed in the bags (*sacculæ*), except the particle which the Pope had broken off and left on the Altar ("that the Altar might never be without the Sacrifice"), the court officials go up to the Altar and stand in order on the right and on the left, and the archdeacon gives a sign to the choir that they should sing the *Agnus Dei*.¹ The Oblations of the Pontiff, which were carried in the Paten to the throne, having been broken, a regionary deacon takes the Paten from the hands of the two deacons who had held it during the fraction, and bears it to the Pope, that he might communicate himself with the Lord's Body. The words of the first Roman Order are: "When he communicates he does so from the particle of the Host which he has detached" (lit. "bitten off"). The rest he places in the Chalice, saying: "May this Commixture and Consecration of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ be made to us who receive, Eternal Life." This is the rite of the Commixture, and then the Pope says: "Peace be with you," and the response is given, "And with thy spirit." He is then "confirmed" by the archdeacon, *i.e.*, he drinks of the Chalice presented to him by the archdeacon.² He receives the

See Mabillon's "*Ordo Romana*," vol. i. p. 14, note.

¹ During the singing of the *Agnus Dei* a curious practice had place. Certain officials of the Papal Court go up to the Pontiff, in order that he may signify the names of those who should be invited to his own table and to the table of the Vice-Dominus, and, having received the names, proceed to give the invitations. This custom was in all probability a survival of the Agape.

² The word "confirmare," *i.e.*, to confirm, is used throughout the

Sacred Blood through a pipe or tube, either golden or silver. The term "Consecration of the Body" as here used is peculiar. It cannot mean a fresh consecration, but it is a prayer that the Body and Blood already consecrated may "by this Commixture be made," &c.¹ According to Liturgical commentators it is done to symbolise the reunion of the Soul and Body of Christ in the Resurrection, even, as in a similar manner, the Consecration of the Body and Blood in separate acts signifies the Passion and Death.

As given by
Mabillon.

The archdeacon then comes to the Altar and announces the day and place of the next Station. He then pours a portion of the contents of the consecrated Chalice into the "Scyphus" which contained the wine that had been offered but not consecrated. The Bishops go to the throne and receive the Sacrament of the Body from the hands of the Pontiff. The account of the order of Communion as given by Mabillon is so perplexing that I avail myself of Duchesne's summary. After describing the mode of reception of the sacred Body by the Bishops and Clergy at the hands of the Pontiff he proceeds thus: "The archdeacon bears the Chalice to the Altar and places it in the hands of the chief Bishop, and he, after

Roman Orders to signify the administration or partaking of the Chalice. Micrologus, as referred to by Mabillon, speaks of the partaking of the Chalice as the completion of the Communion.

¹ There were two Commixtures—(a) when the "Sancta" was dropped into the Chalice by the Pontiff at the end of the "Embolismus," just after he had given the Pax, and before the Agnus Dei. At this Commixture no words were used. (b) The second was at this place, viz., just after the partaking of the Lord's Body and before receiving the Chalice.

having partaken of it, presents it to the other Bishops and to the Priests and Deacons. The Communion of the people follows. The Pope, assisted by the Bishops and Priests, administered the Sacrament of the Body; the archdeacon followed the Pope, and the other deacons followed the Bishops and Priests presenting the Chalice. After the Bishops and Clergy had communicated, the archdeacon poured what remained in the Chalice into the "Scyphus." Duchesne adds to what I have already quoted: "As the Chalice of the Pope served only for the higher Clergy, the archdeacon takes care to pour into the vessels which contained the Wine consecrated" [blessed, not consecrated] "for the Communion of the people, some drops from the Chalice of which the Pope had partaken, and then whatever remained after the Communion of the Clergy." He adds that the idea expressed by this ceremony was that although all the communicants did not partake with their lips of the same vessel, yet all drank of the same spiritual drink; and, moreover, that the rite of the Commixture performed by the Pope over the principal Chalice, the Bishops and Priests repeat over all lesser Chalices from which the faithful take the Communion.

The early Roman Orders do not tell us the words which were used in the Administration. John the Deacon, in his "Life of S. Gregory," gives us this formulary as used by that great Pope:¹ "The Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul." There

¹ The most ancient forms seem to have been: "The Body of Christ," "The Blood of Christ." The Clementine Liturgy has: "The Body of Christ, Amen"; "The Blood of Christ, the Cup of

is another form given, as used about the age of Charlemagne: "The Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ keep thee to everlasting life." During the Communion the Antiphon "Ad Communionem" is sung. This was originally a whole psalm with the Gloria and the antiphonal repetition of the alternate verses. When all have communicated the Pontiff gives a sign to the choir to conclude the Communion. The Pontiff comes to the Altar, gives the accustomed salutation: "The Lord be with you," and, facing eastward, says the prayer which in the Roman Orders is termed "Ad Complendum." This prayer was said on behalf of the communicants only, but later on another was introduced for all the people, which was probably brought in when the rule that all those present should communicate had fallen into disuse. It was called "Ad populum" or "Supra populum." The prayer being ended, the Pontiff, on receiving a sign from the archdeacon, dismisses the people with the words "Ite, missa est." Krazer (p. 578 and "Ordo Romanus," i., section 21) explains these words as: "Depart, go, you are dismissed."

The Pontiff returns to the Sacristy in the same order as he proceeded from it at the commencement of the service, *i.e.*, preceded by the seven light-bearers and the regionary sub-deacon. There was no Benediction given from the Altar; but the Pontiff blessed the people as he passed through their midst. When the Pontiff has reached the Presbytery, the Bishops

Life, Amen." In S. Mark's: "The Holy Body," "The Precious Blood of Our Lord and God and Saviour." In S. Chrysostom and the Ethiopic: "The Body and Blood of Emmanuel, Our God."

ask his blessing in these words: "Lord, give the word of blessing;" and the Pontiff replies: "The Lord bless you." After this the Bishops, the Presbyters, and others, including the acolytes and the choir, seek the same benediction, and when it is given, the Pope enters the Sacristy.

NOTES.

NOTE I.—*The Sancta and Eulogia.*

The "Sancta" was also named "Fermentum." Pope Innocent I., in his letter to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium, already referred to, says: "Concerning the Fermentum which we send to the titular churches on every Lord's Day, it is quite superfluous that you should consult us. Since the Presbyters of all our Churches which are within the city, having congregations of their own, are not able to join us, they receive the Fermentum consecrated by us, in order that they may not think that they are separated from communion with us, especially on so great a day." This custom seems to have extended to other Churches outside Rome, since Pope Siricius ordered that no Presbyter should celebrate on the Lord's Day, unless he had received the Fermentum from his Bishop. The Reserved Host was also called the Eulogia. It was carried by the deacons to the sick, and at certain seasons, especially at Easter, was sent by the Bishops to one another as a token of communion. S. Irenæus refers to this custom as one observed even by those Bishops who differed among themselves as to the season of the Easter observance, in order to show that charity and intercommunion was observed in spite of the difference. In the xiv. Canon of the Council of Laodicea, in the IV. century, this practice was forbidden, probably from motives of reverence towards the Blessed Sacrament. From this period the breads, sent as tokens of communion, were blessed but not consecrated; but they still retained the name of "Eulogiæ." There was a custom both in the Eastern and in the Western Churches to offer and bless

more breads than were required for consecration, which, at the end of the Mass, were given to the faithful who had not communicated. In the East the breads thus blessed were termed the Antidoron; in the West "Eulogia." The *pain-bénit* retained in the French Churches is a survival of this use, though the distribution is made in a different manner.

NOTE II.—*Preparation for Mass.*

In the first Roman Order, there was, as we have seen, no mention of special devotions as preparatory to celebration. The Liturgy commenced with the Introit or Antiphon, but it is probable that in the most ancient times it began with Scripture Lections. Krazer says that the piety of certain Bishops, from about the middle of the IX. century, brought in the use of the xliii. Psalm, with the Antiphon: "I will go unto the Altar of God," &c., as preparatory to the Mass. In the Mozarabic Liturgy this Antiphon, without the psalm, is placed just before the Preface and immediately after the Pax. It is found in many MSS. belonging to the Churches of France, Germany, and England, from the IX. century onward. It was sometimes said in the Sacristy, at others, while the priest was going from the Sacristy to the Altar, but more commonly in the Church below the Altar steps. It does not seem to have been imposed as of obligation until Pius V. (who excommunicated Queen Elizabeth), had ordered it to be used in his edition of the Roman Missal. The Lyonaise rite, in the place of this Psalm, has Versicles and Responses, taken partly from it and partly from other sources. See Le Rom., vol. p. 381.

The Confession of sin by the Celebrant, at the commencement of the Liturgy, is of ancient date and universal use, borrowed, probably, from the practice of the Jewish priests of confessing their sins over the victim, which they immolated. We find such Confessions in the earliest Liturgies; and were named, both in the Eastern, the Mozarabic, and Gallican Liturgies, the "Apologiæ" of the Priest. There is no mention of any form in the early Roman Orders, but the Pontiff, as soon as he entered the Church, knelt at the faldstool in silent prayer, which prayer was in all pro-

bability of the same nature as the priest's "Apologia." In later times an act of Confession by the priest before celebrating became universal, though used in different forms. In the earlier forms the Confession was made to God before the Saints, but no names were mentioned. One form given by Micrologus in the XI. century runs thus: "I confess to God Almighty, to those here present, to all the Saints, that I have grievously sinned," &c. (see "*La Liturgie Ancienne et Moderne*," p. 7). In the Missal of Pope Pius V. we find the precise form which is now used. This form, according to Le Brun, dates from the XIII. century, and was ordered by a Council of Ravenna (1314) to be said in all the Churches of the Province. In the Sarum Missal the Priest is directed to say the "Veni Creator" while vesting; after which a Versicle and Response, the Collect which follows the first Our Father in the present English Liturgy, then Psalm xliii., with the Antiphon "I will go," &c. The following prayer is contained in a later Roman Order and in the present Roman Liturgy:—"Take from us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, our iniquity, that we may be counted worthy with pure minds to enter the Holy of Holies." The following prayer in the present Roman Missal, in which reference is made to the relics of the Saints, dates from the time when the custom was introduced of placing in the mensa of the Altar some relic of a Saint. This custom took its origin from the early practice of building Altars and Churches over the tombs of Martyrs and other Saints. Yet Le Brun says that for a long time many Altars were without relics, and this is why a Roman Missal, printed at Basle in 1487, directs that if there are no relics, the words referring to them should be left out. It is probable that up to the IX. century relics were not allowed to be kept on the Altar, because it was held unlawful to place anything there except the Sacrifice and whatever closely appertained to it. But, in the end of the same century, a Council at Rheims decreed that nothing should be placed on the Altar except the "Capsa," with the relics of the Saints, and the four Gospels. Up to this date the relics were placed under the Altar, and the place in which they rested was called the "Confession."

Vol. I. p.
129.

p. 146.

NOTE III.—*Incense.*

The ceremonial use of incense, derived from the Jewish Church, and used in almost all religions, was certainly practised in the Primitive Church. (For the authority of its use and the mysterious significance attached to it, see *Popular Handbook*, Part first, pp. 14 and 15.) It was by casting incense on the idolatrous altars that the early Christians were invited by their heathen persecutors to sacrifice to false gods. We find the use of incense in the earliest Liturgies, *e.g.*, those of SS. James and Mark, and the Constantinopolitan Liturgies of SS. Basil and Chrysostom. In the Apostolical Constitutions (Bk. ii. ch. 26), and in the third of the Apostolical Canons, incense is mentioned as used at the Altar during the Divine Service. S. Ambrose, in his Commentary on S. Luke, has these words: "May the Angel be present with us as we cense our Altars and offer the sacrifice." It has been seen that, according to the ancient Roman Orders, the thurible with incense was carried before the Pontiff as he proceeded from the Sacristy into the Church; and also before the deacon as he went from the Altar to the ambo to read the Gospel. In the earliest of these orders incense was used only in processions; no persons or things were censured; but, according to the later orders (*e.g.*, the eleventh), the Altar was censed by the Pontiff, the archdeacon holding his chasuble "*ne impediatur.*" We are also told by Eusebius that the Emperor Constantine the Great presented to the Church two thuribles of purest gold. The observations of Tertullian, Athenagoras, and others, which have been brought forward as evidence of the non-use of incense in the early Church, probably mean no more than to contrast its use and purpose in the Christian Church with the superstitious observance of it in heathen worship.

NOTE IV.—*Kyrie.*

Mabillon says that anciently the term Litany was used to signify only the *Kyrie Eleison*. He quotes from the codex of an ancient Missal to show that, in a particular

See
"Museum
Italicum,"
p. xxxiv.
and Krazer,
p. 377.

Church, on the Feast of the Ascension, the *Kyrie* with the *Christe Eleison* were said one hundred times. When it was used during the procession with anything like this frequency, it was naturally not recited in the Liturgy itself. In the XI. century it became the rule that three *Kyries* should be said to the Father, three *Christe Eleisons* to the Son, and three *Kyries* to the Holy Ghost. This is the number and order of the *Kyries* as they are now recited in the Roman Missal, immediately after the *Introit*. The Ambrosian Liturgy has three *Kyries*, each said once, both after the *Gloria in Excelsis* and after the Gospel; but it has not the *Christe Eleison*; and, in this particular, it agrees with the Greek rites. There is also this difference between the East and West, viz., in the former the whole is said by the people, in the latter at low mass by the priest and people alternately.

NOTE V.—*The Gloria in Excelsis.*

See Krazer,
p. 392.

This hymn is found in S. James' Liturgy in the brief form in which it is related in S. Luke's Gospel. It is not known who composed the additions which are now included in it. The Fourth Council of Toledo affirms that they were added by ecclesiastical doctors "whoever they were." Pope Telesphorus is said to have ordered it to be sung on the night of the Nativity; but the authority of this statement is very uncertain; and the form in which it was recited is not given. But in a work entitled "*De Virginitate*," attributed to S. Athanasius, there are these words: "Say the hymn *Gloria in Excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis, Laudamus Te, Benedicimus Te, Adoramus Te*," and that which follows ("*quæ sequuntur*"). One may well join with Krazer in his regret that the writer did not give us the entire hymn. It is found in its extended form with some verbal differences in the Apostolical Constitutions (Bk. viii. ch. 47), and in the Alexandrian Codex in the British Museum. In this MS., which is of the IV. or V. century, it bears the supposititious title of "The Hymn of S. Hilary." It is certainly of Greek origin, but it may have been translated into Latin by S. Hilary, and it is

possible that in doing this he cast it into the form in which it now exists in the Western Liturgy. I may add that it was not restricted to the Eucharistic service, for it is styled in ancient MSS. in both East and West a "Morning Hymn." Cardinal Bona (pp. 603-604) makes these remarks: "No hymn more noble can be found, whether we consider the author, the age, the use, or, finally, the excellence and dignity of the Divine phrases which are therein sung; for, not to mention other things, what is more noble than to give thanks to God for His great glory? As if we were to say 'We give thanks to Thee not for the good which comes to us from Thee, but for Thyself, and for Thy glory, because this, Thy glory, is our sanctification, and we are holy only for the sake of Thy glory, because when Thou sanctifiest us Thou makest us partakers of Thy glory, in our pilgrimage and in our Fatherland, and, therefore, it is good that we, the servants of the Good and Glorious God, should rejoice to extend that glory everywhere, and that we should enjoy it more as Thine than if it were our own; for Thou only art to be praised and glorified, and outside Thee there is no true glory.'" This hymn was originally ordered to be sung only on the night of the Nativity; but Pope Symmachus is said to have extended its use to every Lord's Day and to the Feasts of the Martyrs; the recitation of it seems, however, to have been restricted to bishops.

NOTE VI.—*The Collect.*

This prayer, with the title of which everyone is familiar, has a special Liturgical interest in regard to its origin, history, and meaning. It has been already said that the name "*Collecta*" was first given to the prayer said over the faithful before they commenced the station procession, and was originally called the "*Oratio ad Collectam, ad S. Adrianum*," or any saint who was patron of the church in which the station was held. By a natural tendency to abbreviate titles the prayer came to be known simply as "*Collecta*" or "*Collectio*." When inserted in the Liturgy after the *Gloria in Excelsis* and before the Lections, different

Mabillon,
"Musæum
Staticum,
Com.," p.
xxxii.

meanings were assigned to it. Of these, I think the most significant and exact is that it gathers up in concise form the needs, the aspirations, and pious affections of the people, which are thus offered to God by the priest on their behalf. These Collects (I use the term in the restricted and proper sense) are mostly derived from the Sacramentaries of SS. Gelasius and Gregory. There are, however, in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Missals many Collects which are different from these; and in the latter Missal, the form in which they are cast varies from the Roman type.

The Eastern Liturgies have prayers corresponding to the Western Collect, but cast in a different style. There was also this further variation, that while in the Western Liturgies there was a great variety of Collects for different days, there was in the Eastern, for the most part, only one. In the Gregorian Sacramentary one collect only was used at each Mass, though varying with the day; and this use was retained in the Roman Missal until the XIII. century. In other parts of the Western Church the number of Collects was gradually increased according to the will of the bishops, until it was ruled that the number should never exceed seven; and, in every case, the number should be unequal, for which mystical reasons were assigned. As an instance of conflicting usage in this matter, I may mention the case of S. Columbanus, an Irish monk, founder and Abbot of Luxueil, and of the Monastery of Bobbio, who was censured by a Synod of Macon for using many Collects; while Eustachius, his successor at Luxueil, defended the practice. In the earliest Liturgies all Collects and other prayers were addressed to the Father through the Son. This ancient practice was confirmed by a decree of the Third Council of Carthage (397), but was subsequently departed from.

Krazer,
pp. 404, 405.

NOTE VII.—*The Gospel.*

The solemnities observed at the reading of the Gospel, both in the East and West, exhibit the deep veneration in which the sacred Gospels were held by the early Church.

On this point the language of some early Fathers, *e.g.*, of S. Augustine and of Origen, is very strong, indeed, so much so, that it may seem to our dull faith, exaggerated. They realised our Lord's presence living and speaking to us in the Holy Gospel as inferior only to His presence in the Eucharist. S. Augustine says: "The Lord is on high, but He is the same as the truth which is here. His Body ascended is, perhaps, in a place: His truth is everywhere: let us hear the law." Origen has these words: "Let us not suffer one single word to fall to the ground, for, as in the partaking of the Eucharist you very rightly take a reverent care that not the least particle thereof should be dropped, why should you not also think and believe that it is a sin to neglect one word of Christ as much as it is to neglect His Body?"

Le Brun, from whom these quotations are taken, adds: "Explication, &c., vol. i. pp. 236, 237." "The writers of the VIII. century say, 'The Body of Jesus Christ, by which we spiritually live, is not only the consecrated bread and wine which is offered on the Altar'; the Gospel also is 'the Body and Blood of Christ,' in such sense that when we read or when we hear it, we are as the children of the family seated round the table of the Lord."

These sentiments, if they savour of hyperbole, yet supply us with the *rationale* on which the extreme reverence paid to the Holy Gospels was founded.

NOTE VIII.—*The Sermon.*

There is no doubt that sermons or homilies were very commonly delivered during the Liturgy, after the Gospel. The earliest record of Liturgical worship shows this, viz., Justin Martyr's Apology. But the liberty of preaching was very commonly restricted to bishops. Presbyters, as a rule, were not allowed to preach in the presence of a bishop; probably the first presbyter who was allowed to do this in the Western Church was S. Augustine; and this privilege was accorded to him because his bishop, being a Greek, was not familiar with the Latin tongue; and even this licence was complained of by neighbouring bishops. In

the East greater freedom in this matter was allowed, as is shown by the homilies of Origen and of S. Chrysostom (preached when a presbyter). In some cases when a presbyter preached before a bishop, the bishop himself preached after him. In the suburban or rural churches the liberty of preaching was more freely accorded to presbyters; deacons were not allowed to preach, but if the priest was hindered from doing so through infirmity, or any other cause, they might read the homilies of the Fathers.

NOTE IX.—*The Creed.*

There is reference to a Creed in Tertullian's "*Veiling of Virgins*" (ch. i.). "The rule of faith is altogether one, alone, immovable, and irreformable, the rule to wit of believing in one only God Omnipotent, the Creator of the Universe; and His Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary; crucified under Pontius Pilate; raised again the third day from the dead; received into the heavens; sitting now at the right hand of the Father; destined to come to judge the quick and the dead through the resurrection of the flesh." But there is no early reference to the use of a Creed in the Liturgy. The earliest trace of such use in the Roman Liturgy is found in the ceremony or rite known as the "*Tradition of the Symbol*," in which the Creed was delivered to the catechumens during the Mass; and also in the "*Scrutiny of the Symbol*," when they were examined in it, as I have shown in the text. In the early part of the VI. century, Timothy, Bishop of Constantinople, ordered it to be sung; and before this date, Peter the Fuller, Bishop of Antioch, directed it to be used in his patriarchal Church. It seems to have spread gradually throughout the East till it established its place in the Liturgies of SS. Basil, Chrysostom, Mark, and others.

See Krazer,
p. 446.

In the West, the Third Council of Toledo (589) ordered: "That the 'Symbol of Constantinople' should be recited in all the Churches of Spain, as in the Churches of the East;" and it was directed to be said after the consecration and

before the Our Father, the expression of belief being put in the plural number: "We," and not I, "believe." The recitation was accompanied by this ceremonial act: "The Priest takes the Holy Body of the Lord from the Paten, and places It uncovered in or on the Chalice, while he says 'The Lord be with you'; and after the response, he adds: 'What we believe in our hearts, let us proclaim with our mouth.'" There has been considerable difference of opinion among Liturgical writers as to the time of the introduction of the Creed in the Roman Liturgy. Berno, Abbot of Reichenau, asserts that it was first put into the Liturgy in 1014 by Pope Benedict VIII. at the request of the Emperor Henry II., and that he himself was a witness to the fact. This is disputed by Krazer, who quotes Leo III. and John VIII., both of whom died in the IX. century, as witnessing to its use in the Roman Liturgy during their Pontificates. The second Roman Order directs it to be said, but the date of this Order is uncertain. Some have supposed that its use had been interrupted, and was restored by Pope Benedict.

See Krazer,
p. 447.

NOTE X.—*The Offertory Prayers.*

It has been said, that in the ancient Roman Orders and in the present Roman Missal, there is an "*Oremus*," at the time of the first oblation, without any accompanying prayer. Duchesne observes: "There is evidently a hiatus, something has disappeared, and that something is nothing less than the Prayer of the Faithful, which has place here in all Liturgies." It has been thought that this "*Oremus*" has reference to the prayers mentioned by Pope Celestine in his letter to the Bishops of France, and such as are contained in the Roman Missal for Good Friday after the Gospel. Duchesne very truly says that there is nothing in these prayers for the ordinary needs of the Church, and for all conditions of men, to confine them to the solemnities of the Passion, and he supposes that at an earlier period they formed part of the ordinary Roman Mass, and were recited after the Gospel; where they are now said on Good Friday. The absence of any Liturgical intercessions earlier

See page 5.

than the Canon, forms one marked difference between the Roman Liturgy and the Eastern rites. In S. James' Liturgy there is the "*Synapte*," or short intercession, before the Lessons, and the Bidding Prayer after; while between the Pax and the Offertory there is a longer intercession, called the "Universal Litany." There are, besides these, various intercessory prayers said by the priest in the Pro-anaphora. There is no Litany in S. Mark's Liturgy, but there are various intercessory prayers which are said in the same place by the priest. The Pro-anaphora of S. Chrysostom's Liturgy has several Ectenes or Litanies which are said by the deacon; and there are Litanies in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Liturgies; another evidence of their derivation from the East. These, however, are used only in Lent. In the Ambrosian they have place immediately after the *Ingressa* or *Introit*; in the Mozarabic they follow the "*Psallendo*," which is between the Prophecy and the Epistle. In regard to the position of the Great Intercession, we find differences between the Roman Liturgy on the one hand, and the Eastern and Gallican rites on the other. In the former it is placed entirely within the Canon. The intercessions for the living precede the consecration, and those for the dead follow it. The Great Intercession in the Eastern Liturgies is found in three different places:—(a) In S. Mark's Liturgy, just within the Anaphora, between the Preface and the "*Ter-Sanctus*" or Triumphal Hymn; (b) in the Antiochene Liturgies, viz., S. James' and its derivatives, it follows the Consecration; (c) in the Eastern Syrian it has place between the Words of Institution and the "*Epiclesis*." The Ambrosian follows the Roman arrangement; but in the other Liturgies of the Gallican family it has a place of its own, different from other Liturgies, viz., after the first oblation and before the "*Sursum Corda*," and bears the name of "*Diptychs*," containing prayers for the living and the dead.

See Hand-
book, part
i. p. 63.

Besides the intercessions, which preceded or accompanied the first oblation, there were also prayers for the acceptance of the oblations. Besides these, there were prayers in the Gelasian and present Roman Liturgies called "*Secreta*," and in the Sacramentary of S. Gregory and the

Ambrosian Liturgy, "*Super Oblatam.*" These prayers varied with every Mass. Others were introduced at a later period ; but as I shall have to refer to them hereafter, it may be convenient to give some account of them here. In the *Roman* Liturgy we have these prayers :—

I. "O Holy Father, Almighty and Eternal God, accept this Immaculate Sacrifice, which I, Thine unworthy servant, offer to Thee, my True and Living God, both for my own numberless sins, offences, and negligences ; for all here present, and also for all faithful Christians, whether living or departed, that It may be profitable both to them and to me, for salvation and for life eternal."

II. At the mixture of the water with the wine : "O God, who didst wonderfully create our humanity and dost still more wonderfully renew it, vouchsafe that by means of this mystery of wine and water we may be made partakers of the Divinity of Him Who didst condescend to assume our humanity, even Jesus Christ, Thy Son, Our Lord, Who with Thee and the Holy Ghost livest and reignest for ever and ever."

III. Then, taking the Chalice he says : "We offer to Thee, O Lord, the Cup of salvation, beseeching Thee that of Thy mercy it may ascend with a sweet fragrance to Thy Divine Majesty, for our salvation and for that of the whole world."

IV. Once more : "Come Almighty Sanctifier, Eternal God, and bless this sacrifice prepared for Thy name."

In the *Mozarabic*, at the offering of the Paten containing the breads, there is this prayer : (I.) "O Almighty and Eternal God, grant that this oblation which we offer to Thee for our sins and offences, for the stability of Thy Holy Catholic Church, and for all who hold the apostolic faith, may be acceptable to Thy Divine Majesty, through Christ Our Lord."

(II.) At the offering of the Chalice there is this prayer : "We offer to Thee, O Lord, this Chalice, that it may be consecrated to become the Blood of Thy Son, Jesus Christ : and we entreat Thee that of Thy mercy It may ascend with a sweet fragrance, through," &c.

(III.) When the priest places the Chalice on the altar and

covers it with a veil, he says: "We beseech Thee, O Lord, that Thou wouldest mercifully receive this oblation, and forgive the sins both of those who offer, and of all for whom it is offered."

(IV.) There is, besides, the same prayer as No. IV. taken from the Roman Missal, with the important addition of the mention of the Holy Ghost as the "Sanctifier."

In the *Ambrosian*, the priest, taking the Paten with the Host, offers it, saying: "Receive, Most Merciful Father, this holy bread, that it may be made the Body of Thine only begotten Son, in the name of the Father," &c. Then, pouring wine into the Chalice, he says: "From the side of Christ flowed blood"; and as he pours the water he adds: "And also water, in the Name," &c. He then takes the Chalice and offers it in these words: "Receive, Most Merciful Father, this Chalice of wine mixed with water, that it may be made the Blood of Thy only begotten Son, in the Name," &c. The Chalice is placed upon the corporal and covered with a pall, while the priest, with his hands joined and resting on the altar, says: "Almighty, Everlasting God, may this oblation be pleasing and acceptable to Thee, which I, all unworthy, offer to Thy mercy for myself, a miserable sinner, and for my innumerable transgressions; that Thou wouldest grant to me pardon and remission of all my sins, and that, not looking upon my iniquities, Thou wouldest of Thy mercy grant that it may be profitable to me, through," &c.

NOTE XI.—*Prefaces.*

In the Eastern rites there was but one preface to the Sanctus for the whole year; but in the Western Liturgies it varied. In the Mozarabic and Ambrosian there were varying prefaces for every Mass; and in the Roman there was much greater variety than now exists. In the most ancient codex, the Leonine, there were two hundred and sixty, and this figure does not represent the entire number, as a large portion of the variable parts of the Liturgy, extending from January to April, is wanting. In the Gelasian Sacramentary there are fewer, viz., fifty-six; and

the Gregorian contains only the same number as is found in the present Roman Liturgy, viz., nine. They are for the following seasons, viz., 1, Christmas; 2, Epiphany; 3, Lent; 4, Passiontide and Holy Cross Day; 5, Easter; 6, Ascension; 7, Pentecost; 8, Trinity; 9, The Feasts of the Apostles.

NOTE XII.—*Concelebration.*

The custom of priests joining with the celebrant in the consecration seems to have arisen from the very primitive rule that there should be only one altar in each church, and at that altar only one Mass on the same day. This rule was intended to set forth in figure the unity of the Church—one Altar, one Priesthood, one Eucharist. In a large church, over which a bishop presided, and to which several priests were attached, the bishop would naturally be the chief celebrant; but in order that the presbyters might be permitted to have part in the sacrifice, it was appointed that they should “concelebrate” with the bishop, *i.e.*, that they should recite the Canon together with him, *sotto voce*, and in some cases it would seem that they performed the fraction. In an old Pontificale published by Menard there are these words: “It is the custom of the Roman Church that in the consecration of the Body and Blood of the Lord, presbyters should be present and consecrate along with the Pontiff.” Cardinal Bona tells us: p. 270. “It was the custom that one and the same sacrifice should sometimes be celebrated by many priests; for whosoever was the celebrant, whether priest or bishop, all the bishops and priests present celebrated along with him, and were partakers of the sacrifice.” He adds: “but although this custom is still preserved among the Greeks, with us (*i.e.*, the Latins), it is retained only in the ordination of priests and bishops.” The learned writer refers to the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons, to the Third Council of Toledo, and to other authorities, in confirmation of his statement. In the first Roman Order, according to Mabillon, the archdeacon gives three oblates to each of the cardinal presbyters, and when the Pontiff approaches the Altar, “they stand to the right and to the left, so that they may

See Krazer,
pp. 185, 186.

more clearly hear his voice, and together with him consecrate the Body and Blood of the Lord."

NOTE XIII.—*Elevation.*

There is, in the earliest Roman Orders, no mention of the Elevation of the Host immediately after consecration, but at the end of the prayer which closes the Canon there was an elevation. The occasion which gave rise to the practice of elevating and adoring immediately after the consecration of each species was the heresy of Berengarius, who denied the real presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the holy Eucharist. This change was made emphatically to express the Church's belief that the elements come to be in themselves (*i.e.*, objectively) the Body and Blood of Christ. The elevation at the end of the Canon was still continued, but became the lesser elevation. The word which directs it in the Roman Missal is now "*parum*" (*i.e.*, a little).

NOTE XIV.—*Bells used at the Elevation.*

We are told that Queen Matilda of England made a present of a bell to John, Bishop of Chartres, to be rung at the Mass, which he gave to the Church of S. Mary for this purpose. Both Bona and Scudamore quote other writers as witnessing to the same use, dating from the XI. century. The practice of the use of bells at the elevation during consecration was probably brought into the Western Church concurrently with the introduction of the elevation. Krazer, when referring to the introduction of the practice into Italy from Germany, very truly says that it was the elevation which was new, certainly not the adoration of the Host; and he quotes the well-known words of S. Augustine on it:—"No one eats that Flesh unless he first adores." We have seen that in the first Roman Order all the clergy stood in a very inclined position during the consecration, *i.e.*, as worshipping or adoring. According to Grancolas,¹ the practice of the use of bells at the elevation was used among the Greeks "to re-awaken the attention and devotion of the people."

¹ See *Les anciennes Liturgies*, pp. 647-649.

NOTE XV.—*The Kiss of Peace.*

We have seen that S. Gregory changed the place of this ceremony in the Roman rite. It was formerly placed at the end of the Canon, just before the Our Father; whereas this Pope removed it to where it is now found, viz., after the Our Father. It is now preceded by the Prayer for Peace: "O Lord, Who didst say to Thine apostles," &c. But this prayer is not found in any Missal till about the XI. century. In the Oriental Liturgies and in the Mozarabic, the pax is given before the preface and "*Sursum Corda*." It is given with various salutations. In the Liturgy of S. James the deacon says: "Kiss one another with a holy kiss"; in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom the deacon says: "Let us love one another, that we may with one mind confess;" the choir adds: "The Father, Son and Holy Ghost." In Dr Neale's translated edition of this Liturgy we read: "If there be two or more priests, each kisses the holy things, and then one another on the shoulder, saying: 'Christ is among us, He is and will be.'" In the Mozarabic the salutation varies at each Mass, the purport, however, of the prayer which accompanies the salutations is that through the outward kiss the interior peace may remain unbroken, and that the peace spoken with the mouth may be fulfilled in act: and that the sacrament may enrich those who are of one faith, and whom one bond of love joins together; and again: "Take the kiss of love and peace, that ye may be prepared for the holy mysteries." In the Ambrosian the words are: "Offer peace to yourselves," and the prayer which I have quoted from the Roman Liturgy follows, and in this, the Roman Liturgy, the salutation is: "Peace be with you," and the response: "And with thy spirit." When the separation of men and women on different sides of the church was discontinued it became expedient to withdraw the personal salutation and to substitute the tablet called the osculatory, on which was engraved the figure of Our Lord. This was first kissed by the priest, then handed to the deacon and kissed by him, and then passed on to the people. The use of this tablet seems to have arisen first in England, as refer-

Krazer, p. 340.

See Bona, p. 836.

ence is made to it in several English Councils. This ceremony, however, gradually died out among the laity, but in the Roman, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic rites it is retained and used by the clergy and the choir; but in place of the kiss given there is a mutual embrace. In the earliest Liturgies there is no mention of kissing the Altar, the Chalice, or the Paten; though later, as we have seen, the pax was sometimes given from the Paten.

NOTE XVI.—*Fraction and Commixture.*

We find this practice in nearly all Liturgies, reaching up to S. James. S. Mark has the fraction, and not the commixture; but usually the fraction is followed by the commixture. The form of words which accompanied it varied in different rites. In S. James' Liturgy the words are: "The union of the most holy Body and precious Blood of Our Most Holy God and Saviour Jesus Christ." When the priest signs the bread he says: "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." Then, he distributes one part into each Chalice saying: "A holy portion of Christ, full of grace and truth, of the Father and the Holy Ghost, to Whom," &c. In the Syriac S. James it is thus: "We believe, we approach, we sign and break this Eucharist, the heavenly Bread, the Body of the living Word of God, in the Chalice of salvation and thanksgiving . . . full of heavenly mysteries," &c.

In S. Chrysostom's, the priest, dividing with care and reverence the holy Bread into four parts, says: "The Lamb of God is broken and distributed, broken and not divided, and never consumed, but sanctifying the communicants"; and in placing the holy Bread in the Chalice he says: "The fulness of the Cup of faith and of the Holy Ghost."

In S. Basil's we have these words: "The holy Body, the Precious Blood," accompanied by minute ceremonial. In the Armenian: "The fulness of the Holy Ghost." In the "*Expositio Brevis*" of S. Germanus of Paris in the VI. century, which contains an account of the Gallican Liturgy, we read that: "The confractio and the com-

mixture of the Body of the Lord was anciently set forth by the holy fathers with great mysteries." The Council of Toledo in the VII. century speaks of the "conjunction" of the bread and of the cup: "May the conjunction of the Body and Blood of our Lord, as we take and drink it, be to us for pardon; and to the faithful departed eternal rest."

In the Ambrosian the priest breaks the Host in the middle over the Chalice, saying: "Thy Body O Christ is broken, and the Chalice is blessed," and then: "May Thy Blood ever be to us for the life and salvation of our souls, O Our God." At the commixture itself are these words: "May the commixture of the consecrated Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ profit us who take and drink it, unto life and eternal joy." In the Roman Missal, the form is this: the priest, having broken the Host into two equal parts, one is placed on the Paten, and from the other, which he holds in his hand, he breaks off a particle, and with It he signs the Chalice three times saying: "The peace of God be ever with you"; he then drops the particle into the Chalice saying: "May this commixture and consecration of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ be to us who receive them for life eternal."

In the Eastern Liturgies, the fraction and commixture had place after the elevation at the "*Sancta Sanctis*." In the Western; the Roman, and Ambrosian, after, and in the Mozarabic and Gallican before, the Our Father. The Latins divide the Host into three parts, the Orientals into four, and the Mozarabes into nine.

NOTE XVII.—*The Mingling of Consecrated and Unconsecrated Wine.*

It was held that the mingling of the consecrated with unconsecrated wine sanctified the latter. This practice prevailed chiefly in the early Roman Church, and the reason given was that in so populous a city, where on great solemnities the communicants were very numerous, it was difficult to know how to consecrate neither too much nor too little. In other churches the mingling was used

P. 708.

when the consecrated wine was likely to fail. Scudamore quotes from Mabillon the following direction, taken from the ancient *Ceremoniale of S. Benignus of Dijon*: "There ought to be wine in the flagon or larger Chalice, in order that when the deacon shall perceive it to be necessary he may increase the Blood of the Lord." The learned writer also cites from the rule of the Cistercians these words as part of their Missal: "The priest who holds the Cup containing the Blood, when he sees that the quantity would not suffice for all the brothers, puts therein a little wine."

NOTE XVIII.—*The Communion.*

Vol. i. pp.
624, 625.

In all Liturgies, Western as well as Eastern, the Communion was given to the people during the service, immediately after the celebrant and other clergy had received. Le Brun well says: "It is very fitting that the people should partake with the priest of the sacrifice, which he and those with him have just offered." All ancient writers assign the people's communion to this place; and this reason is given, that the prayers at the end of the Missal, or as we should say, the post-communion prayers, are as much for the people who have communicated as for the celebrant; so that if they did not communicate till after the Mass, they would lose the benediction which these prayers invoke. The same writer quotes from a council held by S. Carlo Borromeo at Milan, in which the parochus or parish priest is enjoined to observe "the very ancient rule of administering the Eucharist during the solemnity of the service and immediately after he has partaken of the precious Blood." It is well known that the Blessed Sacrament was always reserved that it might be carried to the sick; and in very early ages, as may be seen in the writings of Tertullian, the faithful were allowed to take it with them to their houses, that they might communicate at home; but all communions made in church were immediately after the priest had communicated. The modern practice of giving the communion outside of, or apart from, the Mass was entirely unknown.

NOTE XIX.—*Forms of Dismissal.*

I will set down a few forms of dismissal taken from the Oriental and Western Liturgies:—

S. James.—See Part First, p. 74.

S. Mark.—The deacon says: "Depart in peace"; the people: "In the Name of the Lord."

S. Clement.—The deacon says: "Depart in peace."

S. Chrysostom.—Deacon: "Let us make our supplication unto the Lord." The priest says: "The blessing of the Lord be upon you. Glory to Thee, Our God; Glory to Thee." People: "Glory, both now," &c.

Ambrosian.—Priest: "Let us go forth in peace." Response: "In the name of Christ." Priest: "Let us bless the Lord." Response: "Thanks be to God."

Mozarabic.—Priest or deacon: "The solemnities are completed in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ." Response: "May your offering be accepted in peace."

The following is the final benediction contained in the Armenian Liturgy. It is said after a bidding prayer by the deacon, the priest blessing the people with the Gospel:—"Keep us in peace, O Christ Our God, under the protection of Thy holy and venerable Cross. Save us from visible and invisible enemies, and make us meet with thanksgivings, to glorify Thee with the Father and with the Holy Ghost; now and ever, world without end. Amen."

Le Brun, in referring to those Liturgies which have no formal benediction at the end of the Mass, says that nothing essential is wanting since the prayers used by the priest during the service are so many benedictions for those who assist, seeing that in all the priest asks God that He would pour His benedictions and graces upon them. "One daily sees Christians who go to a Mass because of the benediction of the blessed sacrament given at the end,

and who would rather miss the Mass than this benediction. These persons are certainly wanting in judgment."

From S. Gregory's time, and probably before it, the form of dismissal in the Roman rite has been "*Ite Missa est.*" The word "*Missa*," in the English form "*Mass*," was in use, at least, from the time of SS. Ambrose and Augustine in the 4th century. It is found, as we have seen, in the Roman Orders of the 8th century, derived from much earlier date. Various meanings have been assigned to the word, but the most probable and the one accepted by liturgical scholars of the highest authority is "dismissal," from *mittere* to send away. There are two dismissals in the early Liturgies:—(a) of the catechumens and penitents after the Gospel was read; (b) of the faithful at the end, under the form "*Ite Missa est.*" But although the word properly means dismissal or sending away, and is therefore properly applicable to the departure of the people, it came to be applied to the whole service, whether of the catechumens or of the faithful; hence, the terms "*Missa catechumenorum*" and "*Missa fidelium*." The names "*Missa*" and "*Missa*" were also given to certain parts of the Liturgy, especially to the variable prayers and prefaces, and, in the Mozarabic rite, to certain exhortations. It was also applied, though rarely, to prayers and rites other than those belonging to the Eucharist. The "*Ite Missa est*" was, at a later date, not used on days of penitence, as it was thought to express joy; though, as Krazer says, it is difficult to know why. When this form is not used, the priest says in its place: "Let us bless the Lord;" and the people reply: "Thanks be to God." Cardinal Bona accounts for the absence of a benediction at the end of the Mass in the ancient Roman Order by the Episcopal benedictions which had place in other Western Liturgies, and, doubtless, originally in the Roman, after the Lord's Prayer and before the Communion. "The people were not allowed to depart without a blessing, and it is probable that this blessing was given before Communion, in order that those who did not intend to communicate might leave at this point of the Service."

NOTE XX.—*S. John's Gospel.*

The first fourteen verses of S. John's Gospel, which, according to the present Roman Missal, is read at the end of the Mass, and is sometimes (wrongly) called the second Gospel, is not found in any codex earlier than the 13th century. No mention is made of it in any ancient Sacramentary or old Roman Order, but in this century certain presbyters, acting on the instincts of their own devout feeling, no law or authority compelling them, began to recite it. This was done in different manners; by some while they divested themselves of their sacerdotal garments, by others while returning from the altar to the sacristy, by others at the altar, but secretly or *sotto voce*; but at length, at the instance of the people, and especially of the women, it was read with a loud voice; and when the presbyters saw that it pleased the people, the custom spread, till in the 15th and 16th centuries it became almost universal. In 1566 Pius V. authorised and enjoined its use. The Mozarabic and Gallican Liturgies have it not. I believe that of all the Eastern Liturgies, the Armenian alone has this Gospel at the end, and this may have been borrowed from the Uniats, whose Liturgy has been very much changed into accordance with the Roman. Some old Missals directed the celebrant to recite the *Song of the Three Children* in returning to the sacristy or while unvesting. Bona speaks of this as an old custom, and quotes from an old Missal Codex published by Menard: "All being completed, the bishop, returning with the deacons and others to the sacristy, sing the *Hymn of the Three Children*."

See Le Brun,
vol. i. pp.
672, 673.

Pp. 909, 910.

NOTE XXI.—*Ablutions.*

There is, as we have seen in the first Roman Order, mention of these being used by the Pontiff and by the archdeacon immediately after the offerings made by the people; but there is no notice of ablutions taken after the communion. We are told that the chalice containing the

consecrated wine was, after the communion of the clergy, carried and placed in the aumbry. But although no reference is made to ablutions in this place, it is most probable that they were taken either in the "scyphus" or other vessel. In later Roman Orders the custom was distinctly enjoined. In Order No. vi. there is this direction: "When all have communicated the bishop resumes his seat, and three acolytes having genuflected before him, pour water on his hands." Later on, wine was also used, as being the more cleansing element, then water mixed with wine, and then water alone. The Council of Nismes (1284) ordered the priest to pour more wine than water into the chalice, and after the communion to consume all that remained, and then to take two ablutions "according to the custom of the Church of Nismes,"—the first with pure wine, the second with water, which he pours on his finger held over the chalice, and then receives it. According to the Missal of Meaux, the priest, while washing his hands, said the "*Nunc Dimittis*." In the Cistercian Order there is mention of the piscina: "The priest, having poured wine into the chalice, leaves the chalice on the altar, and goes to the piscina to wash his hands, and then returns and consumes the wine left in the chalice."

See also
Krazer, p.
573.

II.

THE AMBROSIAN LITURGY.

The Ambrosian Liturgy naturally comes next to the Roman in our review of the Western Liturgies ; since it is more like it than others, and has been very much modified by its influence. It is undoubtedly very ancient. There is a tradition, but quite unfounded, that this Liturgy was derived from S. Barnabas. S. Ambrose, whose name it bears, and to whom it doubtless owes much in structure and enrichment, attributes it to his predecessors in the See, S. Mirocles and others. These are his words : " God forbid that I should give up the heritage of Mirocles, and of all the faithful bishops who have been before." This was said on the occasion of an attempt made by the Roman See, which we shall presently notice, to abolish its use. Charlemagne, who in his zeal for the Roman Church had already displaced the Gallican Liturgy in favour of the Roman, sought also to abolish the Liturgy of Milan. In this endeavour he was aided by Pope Hadrian I. ; but their efforts were unsuccessful, and it is remarkable that the Liturgy owed its preservation to a Gallican bishop. An assembly was held at Rome in the presence of the Emperor and the Pope, when a Gallican bishop, Eugène, the spiritual father of Charlemagne, " not fearing the King, with tears in his eyes and a sorrowful voice, made a pathetic

See Le Brun,
vol. II.
p. 175.

See Le Brun,
vol. II.
p. 188.

discourse in favour of this rite " which he called " the Mystery of Mysteries." The account goes on to say that the opinions of the assembly being divided, recourse was had to fasting and prayer, that Almighty God would give judgment in favour of one Liturgy or the other. With this view the two books, securely clasped, were placed upon the Altar of S. Peter's and it was resolved that whichever of the two should open, of itself, should be accepted as the one sole use. The doors of the Church were closed for three days ; and when the assembly returned thither, the gates instantly opened of their own accord ; but the books were found still closed on the Altar. There was great sorrow, many prayers were said, when all at once the two Missals opened with a great noise, and there was a cry that both should be retained. It was at last concluded that the Roman rite should be received in all the West except in Milan, where the Ambrosian should still be used. Whatever be the truth of these accounts, Milan retained its Liturgy.

Later on, in A.D. 1060, Pope Nicolas II., having abolished the Mozarabic rite in many of the provinces of Spain, attacked the Milanese. The people of Milan, however, were so much attached to their Liturgy and so firmly united in its defence, that this attempt also failed. Another assault, which was made as late as the XVth century, deserves more particular mention. Pope Eugenius IV. sent a Cardinal (Branda de Castiglione) into Lombardy with a view of effecting a reconciliation between the Holy See and the Duke of Milan. This Legate sought to further his mission by abolishing the

Ambrosian rite and introducing the Roman in its place. In order to carry out this design he obtained possession of a MS. of the Missal, supposed to have belonged to S. Ambrose, and on Christmas Day caused the Roman Mass to be chanted at the high Altar. The people of Milan were so indignant at this innovation and at the surreptitious abstraction of the Ambrosian MS. that they proceeded in a body to the residence of the Legate and threatened to burn it down if he did not restore the missing Liturgy. He threw it out of the window, and the next day left the city. Another attempt was made for the partial suppression of the Liturgy, as late as the time of S. Carlo Borromeo. The governor of Milan had obtained a brief from the Pope that the Roman Liturgy should be said in any of the churches he, the governor visited. S. Carlo, being much distressed at this, wrote to the Protonotary of the Pope, setting forth the devotion of the Milanese to their Liturgy and the dangerous disturbance which would be raised in their churches should the Roman Liturgy be used. This letter was successful, and the use of the Ambrosian rite was secured in all the churches of Milan, but it became more assimilated to the Roman. To some extent Rome borrowed from Milan. Thus, in the Sacramentary of S. Gregory there are many prayers bearing the name of S. Ambrose; but the assimilation was chiefly obtained by the Ambrosian borrowing from the Roman, *e.g.* many introits and collects, the arrangement of the three Masses for Christmas Day, and the inclusion in the canon of the addition made by S. Gregory,

"Dies nostros," &c. But the other changes which this Pope made, *e.g.*, placing the Fraction and Commixture after, instead of before, the Our Father; and also the Agnus Dei, said to be introduced by Pope Sergius I. in 887, were not accepted by Milan.

I will note here some Liturgical references taken from the writings of S. Ambrose as given by Le Brun and Grancolas. I do not include in these quotations any reference to the books of the sacraments which are included among the works of S. Ambrose; since the genuineness of these is very doubtful. We have in the authentic works of this Saint, reference to—

Le Brun,
vol. II.
pp. 175-181.
Grancolas,
pp. 374-379.

(a) The lections of the prophets as well as the Epistles and Gospels;

(b) The dismissal of catechumens and penitents;

(c) The offerings of the Faithful; those who had sinned grievously being excluded from any share in the offering;

(d) The laity were not allowed to enter the sanctuary after they had made their offering;

(e) The censuring of the Altar and the sacrifice;

(f) Prayers made for kings and ecclesiastical rulers;

(g) A curtain drawn before the Mysteries, apparently that they might be hidden from those who were not worthy to approach;

(h) The Consecration by "prayer and Christ's words";

(i) The Communion given in the hand with these words "The Body of Christ," and the people's answer, "Amen";

(i) Alternate chant of prayers and hymns, according to the Eastern use.

S. Ambrose is said to have composed Masses for the Feasts of SS. Nazaire, Celsus, Gervais, Protais, Vitali, and Agricole, whose bodies he discovered and placed under Altars which he dedicated. He is said also to have composed prefaces and other prayers. The same writer speaks of the adoration of Christ in the holy Mysteries, of the offering of the Eucharist for the dead; and, referring to the bodies of the martyrs buried under the Altars, he has these words: "Christ the Victim, Who suffered for us, is on the Altar; they, redeemed by His Passion, are under the Altar." He adds: "We consecrate Altars because the Body of Christ reposes upon them"; and he calls the Altar the "Ark of the Covenant covered with gold, *i.e.*, the doctrine of Christ; the vessel containing the manna, the spiritual food." It is also observable that he is among the first who applied the word "Mass" to the Eucharist.

The following is the general order of the Liturgy.

There are six Sundays in Advent; there is one Mass for the Vigil of Christmas and three on the day itself, borrowed from the Roman use. The rest of the order for the seasons is the same as in the Roman and in our own until Lent. There is no Mass for the Fridays in Lent.¹ The first three Feriæ of the Holy Week are styled "In Authentica." There are special additions in the Canon for Maundy

¹ S. Carlo Borromeo ordered in his third Synod that one Mass should be said on these days, but in this particular he departed from the more ancient use of Milan.

Thursday. The tradition of the Symbol had place on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. There are Masses for every day in Easter Week. The three Rogation Days have place before Pentecost instead of the Ascension. There are only fifteen Sundays after Pentecost, and these are followed by five Sundays "after the Decollation"; then come the First, Second, and Third Sundays of October, and the last has services for the Dedication of a church, and are followed by three Sundays entitled "Post Dedicationem." After this come Masses for the Proper of Saints succeeded by those for the Common of Saints; then masses for the Anniversaries of the Dedication of a church, and of the Consecration of the Altar. After this we find votive Masses for various necessities and occasions; then Masses for the dead. At the end of the Missal there are special Masses for the chief holy-days of the Church to be used in collegiate churches.

I will now examine the Liturgy in detail, and I take the order from the text given by Le Brun, from Beroldus (1124); from a codex of the Ambrosian Missal as now in use, published in Milan in 1795; and from the recently published "Notitia" of Sig. Ceriani (see Note I.).

I. The Antiphon "I will go to the Altar of God," with the response: "To the God who rejoiceth my youth." The priest says: "Confess unto the Lord for He is good." R. "Because His mercy endureth for ever." The XLIII. psalm, which has place here in the Roman Liturgy, is not in this, and after the Confiteor this Liturgy has "Our help," &c., with the

response "Who made," &c. In the Roman it is before.

Then follows the Confiteor, said by the priest and his assistants, which is borrowed from the Roman rite of the fifteenth century; then is said: "I entreat Thee O Lord of Sabaoth, Holy Father, that I may be permitted to intercede for my sins, to obtain pardon for those present, and to offer for each the sacrifice of reconciliation." Ascending to the Altar he says secretly: "Coming to Thine Altar I beseech Thee O Lord suffer me not to perish, but vouchsafe to cleanse me, to enrich me with Thy grace." Since the time of Charlemagne the prayer, which in the Roman Missal has place here, has been inserted, "Oramus Te," &c.

II. The Ingressa or Introit which is an antiphon without response or Gloria. Then the priest salutes the people and they answer: "And with thy spirit." On Sundays in Lent a Litany is said, which resembles the Ectene or deacon's prayer of the Eastern rites.

III. Then follows the Gloria in Excelsis, the Kyrie thrice repeated, again the salutation and its response, but in some codices this follows the prayer *super populum*.

IV. The prayers "super populum," unequal in number. Mutual salutation.

V. The first lection termed the Prophecy,¹ intro-

¹ The following benedictions had place before:—

(a) The Prophecy: "The prophetical doctrine fill us with divine grace."

(b) The Epistle: "The apostolical lection be the instruction of our salvation."

(c) The Gospel: "Through the holy Gospel may all our sins be blotted out."

duced by the mutual salutation, which lection this Missal has in common with the Mozarabic and Gallican, as well as many Eastern Liturgies. It was anciently read at all Masses, but is now used only on Sundays and festivals and some other solemnities.

VI. After this the Psalmellus, consisting of verses from the psalms, is sung. This, as has been said, corresponds to the Psallendo of the Mozarabic, and the Psalmus Responsorius of the Gallican.

VII. The Epistle follows, and after it the Alleluia and the verse; or the verse without the Alleluia.

VIII. The Gospel is now read. The deacon first seeks a benediction from the priest, or if the priest himself reads the Gospel, no deacon being present, he prays for himself in the words of the present Roman rite. The priest or deacon says "The Lord be with you," and when the Gospel is given out the people respond "Glory be to Thee O Lord." After the Gospel there is the mutual salutation, three Kyries and the "Antiphon after the Gospel."¹ In the Missa Cantata and in the Solemn Mass the lections are read from either an ambo or a pulpit by one of the lectors, the Epistle by a subdeacon and the Gospel by a deacon;

¹ Formerly in this place the catechumens and penitents were dismissed. Before the Offertory proper, *i.e.*, when the offering of the Elements by the priest for the purpose of consecration was made, the offerings of the people were presented by representation in this manner:—

(a) Two men in antique costume go to the steps of the presbytery or the Altar, bearing in their right hand the offering of bread, and in their left the wine offering, the latter contained in the vessels which were named Ampullæ. The Celebrant received these offerings in two gilded vessels.

(b) In like manner two women, of venerable age and in special costume, bring the same kinds of offering to the Chancel gates where the priest goes to receive them.

or if the Bishop is the Celebrant, the Prophecy is read by a subdeacon, the Epistle by a deacon, and the Gospel by the archdeacon.

IX. The deacon exclaims: "Pacem habete," and the people reply: "Ad Te Domine." The corporal is spread upon the Altar, and after the mutual salutation, the prayer known as "Oratio super Sindonem" is said.

X. That is followed by the Offertory or first Oblation. At the offering, the Priest taking the Paten with the Host offers it saying: "Receive most merciful Father this holy bread, that it may be made the Body of Thine Only Begotten, In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." Having placed the Host upon the corporal, he pours wine into the Chalice, saying: "From the Side of Christ flowed out the Blood." Afterwards he blesses the water saying: "And water likewise. In the Name of the Father," etc. He offers the Chalice with these words: "Receive O most merciful Father this Chalice (containing) wine mixed with water, that it may be made the Blood of Thine Only Begotten. In the Name," etc.

XI. Five other prayers are said secretly over the offerings, the last of which is a benediction, thus:¹ "May the abundant (*copiosa*) blessing of Almighty God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost descend upon this our Oblation: and may it be accepted by Thee, O Holy Lord, Father Almighty, Eternal God, the most merciful Creator of all things."

¹ These, however, are not contained in the text of the Notitia of Ceriani.

XII. Then, incense is used, and after the mutual salutation, the "Offertorium" is sung or said, the Creed follows, and the mutual salutation is repeated.

XIII. Then the prayers known as "super oblatam," resembling the Roman *Secreta*, have place. We will take as an example the one appointed for Ascension Day: "We Thy servants, on the venerable feast of the Ascension of Thy Son, offer this Sacrifice, beseeching Thee to grant that we, through the same and by these most sacred means of fellowship, may together arise to things heavenly."

XIV. The *Sursum Corda*, with the Preface, varying with the day, and *Ter-Sanctus*, follow, as in the Roman. There is a shorter preface¹.

XV. The Canon has some variations from the Roman, but they are of small importance, except perhaps the following additions:—At the beginning of the *Qui Prædic* there is this variation: "Who on the night before He suffered for our salvation, and that of all men, taking bread, lifted up His eyes to Heaven, to Thee, His God and Father Almighty, and giving thanks, blessed, brake, and gave to His disciples, saying unto them, Take, etc. Taking the Chalice, He lifted up His eyes to Heaven, to Thee His God and Father Almighty, and giving thanks," etc. At the elevation of the Chalice these words are used: "Also commanding and saying to

¹ In the *Notitia* of Ceriani the Canon also differs slightly from the present use; thus at the commencement the *Notitia* has "Together with Thy servant and priest, our Pontiff, our kings with their wives and family."

The present use has "Our Pope (N.) and our Pontiff (N.) our Emperor (N.) and our ruler the Duke."

them, As oft as ye shall do this ye shall do it in remembrance of Me; ye shall proclaim My Death, ye shall announce My Resurrection, and ye shall look for My Advent until I shall come to you again from Heaven." After the words: "Through Whom O Lord Thou dost create, sanctify, vivify, and bless all these good things, and freely bestow them upon us Thy servants," there is the following addition: "For the increase of faith and remission of all our sins." In the Canon of the Mass, "In cœna Domini," there are considerable additions (see Note II.).

XVI. The Fraction and Commixture have place before the Our Father. As the priest breaks the Host he says: "Thy Body, O Christ, is broken. The Chalice is blessed"; and breaking another part of the Host he continues: "May Thy Blood be to us always for life, and for the salvation of our souls"; and dropping the particle into the Chalice he adds: "May the Commixture of the Consecrated Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us who take and eat It, for life eternal and everlasting joy." While the priest is making the fraction, the anthem called the "Confractorium" is sung¹.

XVII. The Our Father comes next. It has the same preface as the Roman, and the same embolismus also, excepting that the name of S. Ambrose, Bishop

¹ The IV. Council of Milan directs that in great solemnities the choir should in this place seek the blessing of the "Bishop as prince of the Church, and Pastor of the Fold": and the deacon bids the people to humble themselves to receive the Benediction. Reference is made to ancient Pontificals, as presenting this use. It would from this appear that anciently the Ambrosian was in common with the other Gallican Liturgies in this matter. See Le Brun, vol. ii. p. 213.

and Confessor, is added to the list of saints whose intercessions are invoked, and a slight variation at the close.

See *Notitia*.

Vol. II.
p. 213.

XVIII. This is followed by the Pax, at the giving of which the priest says: "The peace and communion of our Lord Jesus Christ be ever with you," and the response is: "And with thy spirit." The deacon, or in his absence, the priest, adds: "Give the peace." The response is: "Thanks be to God." Le Brun adds that according to ancient Missals, the priest, kissing the cross on the Altar and the Crucifix on the missal, says secretly: "Peace in heaven, peace on earth, peace to all people, peace to the priests of the churches, the peace of Christ and of the churches remain always with you." He gives the peace to the deacon, and says: "Possess the bond of peace and charity, that you may be fitted for the most holy Mysteries." The prayer for the peace of the Church "Domine Jesu Christe," followed here as in the Roman.

XIX. Then comes the Agnus Dei, but only in Masses for the dead.

XX. The Communion. This prayer, which is not in the Roman Liturgy, is said by the priest before receiving: "Grant me so to receive this Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, my Lord, that it may not be for judgment, but for the remission of all my sins, Who with Thee, in the unity of the same Spirit, liveth and reigneth God for ever and ever. Amen." There are other preparatory prayers which are common to the Roman rite; but as the priest receives the Chalice, there is this prayer peculiar to the Ambrosian;

making the sign of the cross, he says: "Grant, I beseech Thee, O Lord, that the receiving of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, may lead us to life eternal." If there are persons present who desire to receive, the priest is ordered to communicate them before he takes the ablutions, and the words used in giving the Communion are simply: "The Body of Christ," and the communicant answers: "Amen." But this form was extended by S. Charles as in the Roman form, which is: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, preserve thy soul to eternal life." When the priest takes the ablutions, he uses these words: "Confirm, O Lord, that which Thou hast wrought in us, and give to Thy Church perpetual quietness and peace." After this he says, or the choir sing, the "Transitorium," which is an act of praise, and corresponds to the "Communio" of the Roman Missal. The "Post-Communion" follows.

XXI. Then come a mutual salutation and the Kyrie; and after this the priest says: "The Lord bless us and hear us." The deacon says: "Let us go forth in peace," and the response is: "In the Name of Christ." Then

V "Let us bless the Lord."

R "Thanks be to God."

The Missals of the fifteenth century have the "Placeat Tibi," but it is to be used only at the will of the priest.

XXII. Then the final blessing and dismissal.

XXIII. The first fourteen verses of the Gospel of S. John are read at the end of the Mass, as in the Roman Missal.

NOTE I.

Two works of considerable Liturgical interest were recently published in Milan; one containing a "Calendar" and "Ordines" of the Ambrosian rite, with copious notes by Dr Marcus Magistretti. This was taken from the "Ordo and Ceremoniæ" of the Milanese Church, written by Beroldus in the XIIth century. It is in fact the *Ceremoniale* of the Church of Milan, and is of extreme interest to Liturgical scholars. But as the ceremonies are very numerous and minute, and we have already given a pretty full account of the ancient "Ordines Romani," it would be beyond the scope and purpose of this tractate to reproduce them in an English form. They are easily accessible in this work published only last year in Milan, and may be seen at any time in the Metropolitan Cathedral, though probably with some later variations.

The other work which bears the title of "*Notitia Liturgiæ Ambrosianæ ante sæculum XI. Medium*," is by the learned librarian of the Ambrosian library, and the Prefect of the College of Doctors in Milan. It contains the text of the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass, as gathered from various manuscripts of a date earlier than the XIth century. I have availed myself of this text in the analysis which I have given. The book contains an elaborate commentary, in which the learned writer produces from the various manuscripts of the dates specified, considerable variations from the text as published by Pamelius, and after him Daniel, and also Mr Hammond so far as he has framed his edition from these sources. The writer's purpose it seems is to show that in the earliest days the Ambrosian Liturgy conformed more closely to the Roman, and was in fact substantially the same. He supposes that the variations arose from the influence of the Mozarabic and Gallican rites. The same writer also points out the conformity in doctrine of this Liturgy, with the decrees of the Council of Trent. The variations from the earlier MSS. as given by Ceriani, and the present use, consists of additions made in the latter.

NOTE II.

These are additions to the Canon of the Mass "in Coena Domini"—

"Thou, O Lord, hast ordered that we should be partakers of Thy Son, sharers of Thy Kingdom, denizens of Paradise, companions of Angels, if only we keep with entire and unspotted faithfulness the obligations (Sacramenta) of the heavenly warfare. We can in no wise despair of Thy mercy, who have received so great a privilege that we should be counted worthy to offer to Thee such a Sacrifice—viz., the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who, in His venerable and sacred Passion, delivered Himself up for the redemption of the world; and Who, in the institution of the form of this saving and perpetual Sacrifice, first offered Himself and commanded to be offered."

Again: "In the night in which our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, did in the New Testament institute the rite of sacrificing both bread and wine, which the priest Melchisedec had offered in figure of the future Mystery, and in the celebration didst transform them into the Sacrament of His Body and Blood, to be (henceforth) celebrated: We beseech Thee, O Lord, that Thou wouldst mercifully look on us and grant that we may through many years, in health and safety, offer to Thee this our bounden duty and service."

There is also a different Preface to the Our Father.

NOTE III.

Differences between the Ambrosian and the Roman Liturgies:—

In the Ambrosian: and not in the Roman—

I. The Ingressa which is composed of the verse of a psalm without the Gloria or response.

II. The first three Kyries come after the Gloria in Excelsis, and are repeated at the end of the Gospel: there is no *Christe Eleison*.

III. There is a lection from the Old Testament called the Prophecy, as well as the Epistle and Gospel, and a special benediction is given before each.

IV. Between the Prophecy and Epistle the Psalmellus is sung and silence is enjoined.

V. There is an antiphon following the Gospel, and after it the deacon exclaims: "Pacem habete," and the people reply "Ad Te Domine."

VI. On the spreading of the corporal there is a prayer known as "Oratio super sindonem."

VII. The prayers at the first Oblation differ in this, that there is a prayer that the elements may be made the Body and Blood of Christ.

VIII. The five prayers said secretly over the offerings, vary a little from the Roman.

IX. The Creed follows the offertorium.

X. In the Canon there are considerable variations.

XI. The Lavabo in the Ambrosian is taken silently in the middle of the Canon just before the "Qui Pridie."

XII. The Fraction and Commixture are before the Our Father, and during it the "Confractorium" is said.

XIII. The Agnus Dei in the Ambrosian is used only in Masses for the dead; and there are added to the third clause these words: "And a place of indulgence with all Thy Saints in Glory."

XIV. The first prayer before the priest receives ("Holy Lord, Almighty Father, Eternal God").

XV. The prayer "May the receiving of Thy Body" is in the Roman but not in the Ambrosian.

XVI. There is in the Ambrosian this prayer: "Grant, I beseech Thee, O Lord, that the receiving of the Body and Blood of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, may lead us to life eternal."

XVII. The Ambrosian has during the Ablutions: "O God, confirm this which Thou hast wrought in us, and grant to Thy Church tranquillity and peace."

XVIII. Also the Ambrosian has at the end of the Mass the "Transitorium," the "Post Communion," the mutual salutation, and the Kyrie three times; "The Lord hear us and bless us. Amen;" and the deacon says: "Let us go forth with peace. R. In the name of Christ."

"Let us bless the Lord." "Thanks be to God."

III.

THE MOZARABIC LITURGY.

The Liturgy of Spain, in its history and structure, presents a study of great interest and some difficulty. It has naturally been much affected by the successive changes in the peoples and dynasties which have occupied the Peninsula.

We have to consider the Liturgical use under the four political conditions of Spain: (*a*) during the period before the Gothic conquest; (*b*) under the Gothic rule; (*c*) under the Saracens, who succeeded the Goths in the possession of the country; (*d*) under the Spanish kings, when they had driven out the invaders and secured their own independence. The fullest and perhaps the earliest account of the ancient Liturgy of Spain is given us by S. Isidore, Bishop of Seville, in the sixth century. From this account we learn that it was materially different from the Roman use, and, notwithstanding that it underwent much subsequent revision, it was yet substantially the same as that which we now possess. There was a tradition that SS. Peter and Paul sent seven bishops into Spain, who preached the Faith, founded the Church, and appointed the Divine Service. This tradition is referred to by Pope Gregory VII. as well known and generally received.

See Le
Brun, vol.
ii. p. 272.

That S. Paul preached the Faith, and founded, or at least organised, the Church in Spain, is well known. We have, in his own words, his purpose to do so; when writing to the Romans, he says:—"Whosoever I take my journey into Spain I will come to you"; and again, "When therefore I perform this, I will come by you into Spain"; and a consensus of early writers¹ tells us that the Apostle did accomplish this journey. So far as written evidence goes, much more can be said for the mission of S. Paul into Spain than for S. Peter's. We may therefore presume that he would establish, and "set in order," in these Churches which he organised, the Liturgy which he had already established in the churches of Greece and Asia. Dr Neale brings forward the "Officium," or Introit, for the Epiphany, which contains the words: "Ye that have been baptised into Christ have put on Christ," as an evidence of the antiquity of this rite; for it has reference to public baptisms which in the earlier ages were celebrated at the Epiphany as well as on Easter and Whitsun Eves; but this use was abolished about the year 380. The inference is that this "Officium" cannot be of later date than the middle of the fourth century; while it may be much earlier. The same writer also

Rom. xv.
24.

Rom. xv.
23.
See Lesley,
"Liturgia
Mozarabica,"
vol. i.
p. 47, note.

1 Cor. xi. 24.

"Essays on
Liturgi-
ology,"
p. 138. See
also Lesley,
p. 230.

¹ Lesley quotes from S. Clement (Epist. I. ad Cor. chap. v.) that S. Paul came to the utmost limits of the West evangelising, which would naturally mean Spain; and S. Athanasius; "S. Paul did not fear to go to Rome, nor even to Spain." S. Cyril of Jerusalem: "S. Paul penetrated as far as Spain, preaching the Gospel." Theodoret says that S. Paul came into Italy and proceeded to Spain. S. Chrysostom affirms that S. Paul went to Spain. S. Jerome and S. Gregory the Great make the same statements.

quotes from the "Illation," or "Preface" of Christmas Day, these words: "Because on this day, after so long a time, but not long ago," as another evidence of the antiquity of this rite. In the Mass of S. Martin, as contained in this Liturgy, the Saint is spoken of as "this man whom our age has produced." In reference to this Bona says: "Martin died 402, and he was the first confessor who obtained the honour of a public mention in the commemorations of the Liturgy; and this honour was given him very shortly after his death." He adds: "This Mass existed long before the time of S. Isidore." The purpose of this remark was to show that though S. Isidore had revised and enriched the Spanish Missal, he was not the author or compiler of it.

Page 125 of
"Rerum
Liturgi-
carum."

Much obscurity rests on the Liturgical use in Spain, before the time of Lysander and S. Isidore. We have seen that Pope Innocent I. declared that the Roman use prevailed in Spain from the earliest times; but we have seen also that this statement is unfounded. S. Isidore says that the Spanish rite was derived from S. Peter, but he does not, in this reference, connect S. Peter with Rome. The best Liturgical writers, as Bona, Le Brun, Grancolas, Krazer, and Lesley, as well as our own Neale, Palmer, and Hammond, have maintained that the original Liturgy of Spain differed materially from the Roman. Evidence of this opinion will be given as we proceed. In the sixth century Profuturus, Bishop of Braga, sent a letter to Pope Silverius, which was answered by his successor, Pope Vigilius. In his answer the Pope stated that the Roman Liturgy contained "one

See p. 6,
part ii.

Referred to
on p. 7.

order or tenor by which the gifts are consecrated," but that on certain Festivals some special prayers or clauses are added. In the Council of Braga (573) this canon was passed: "It pleases us that the Masses should be celebrated by all in the one and the same order as (*quomodo*) Profuturus, formerly Bishop of this Metropolitan Church, received in writing from the authority of the Apostolic See." Some writers have, quite naturally, inferred from these words that the Council intended that the Roman Liturgy should be used in all Celebrations. Yet the text itself is by no means conclusive on this point; and even if this were the intention of the Council, it was not carried out. Lesley contends that the purpose of the canon was to introduce into the Province, where great variety of use had hitherto obtained, one uniform order of service, which the Pope affirmed was the use at Rome. He further asks: "If the Fathers of the Council of Braga wished to introduce the Roman Liturgy into the country of the Sueves, why did they speak so obscurely? why did they not openly say, 'It pleases us that all should celebrate according to the Roman Order'?" That the purpose of this Council was to obtain uniformity of use (not necessarily the use of the Roman Church), will appear more clearly when we come to consider the Councils of Toledo.

See Preface,
pp. 73, 74.

Before passing away from this Council of Braga I will instance one or two other points of Liturgical interest: (*a*) it was ordered that priests should give the salutation, "The Lord be with you," and that the people should respond, "And with thy spirit"; and

that one and the same salutation should be given by both bishops and priests; (b) inferior clerks and lectors were forbidden to carry the sacred vessels; lectors were forbidden to sing in the church in a secular habit; and (c) the space in which the Altar is placed was termed the sanctuary, into which the clergy only might enter.

The third Council, held in the same city in 674, condemns the practice of intinction, and directs that both species should be administered separately; instruction is also given to mingle water with the wine "as our Lord Himself did, and has commanded to be done." Canon III. orders the priest who is about to celebrate, to wear the stole over both shoulders and crossed in front, as a symbol of his willingness to bear the Cross. The Council of Saragossa (380) condemns those who receive the Lord's Body in Church and do not consume It. The fifth canon of the first Council of Toledo (400) orders that any cleric who does not attend the Holy Sacrifice daily, when in his power, should be deposed. The third Council of Toledo (589) was one of great importance, since it was a National Council convened by the King (Reccared), who, having abjured the Arian heresy, made confession of the Catholic Faith. It was presided over by Lysander, Archbishop of Seville, and its main purpose was to confirm the conversion of the Goths from Arianism to the Catholic Faith. The Constantinopolitan Creed, with the addition of the Filioque, was read, and ordered to be recited "with a loud voice," after the custom of the East. The place assigned to it was after the

Consecration and before the Our Father. King Reccared, who had convened the Council, confirmed its decrees and gave this order : " That for the confirmation of the recent conversion of our people, all the Churches of Spain and Southern Gaul shall observe this rule,—that each time at the Sacrifice, and before the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, according to the custom of the Oriental Fathers, all shall recite, with a distinct voice, the most holy symbol of the Faith, so that the people may confess the faith they hold, and the heart being thus purified by faith, they may offer themselves to partake of the Body and Blood of Christ." The Creed is also ordered to be said in the plural number, after the Eastern model.

The fourth Council, held in the same city (633), was presided over by S. Isidore. It consisted of sixty-two Bishops, seven of whom were Metropolitans, beside seven Vicars, gathered from all Spain and the neighbouring dioceses of Southern Gaul. The Council directed that there should be one Order of prayer, and one mode in the Solemnities of the Mass. The one use here enjoined is clearly not the use of Rome, but of the National Liturgy. This Liturgical unity is enjoined on the whole nation (including the diocese of Braga), from which no dissentient voice seems to have arisen. Canon IX. of this Council directs the Lord's Prayer to be said not only on the Lord's Day, but daily. This order seems to imply that the Lord's Prayer was not previously said at the daily Mass. Another canon directs that the Alleluia should be chanted daily throughout the year,

except during Lent ; and that it should be sung after the Gospel, not before, which is another divergence from the Roman use. In canon XII. we read that, at the end of the psalms, the hymn "Glory and honour to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," or "Lauds," should be said. Canon XIV. orders that the canticle Benedicite should be sung on Sundays, and Festivals at the Mass, either at the entrance of the Chancel, or in the pulpit. In canon XV. it is directed that, from Easter to Pentecost, the Book of the Apocalypse should be read in the Divine Office, and chiefly at Mass. Canon XVII., referring to the use of saying the Lord's Prayer at the Mass, blames those who communicate as soon as this prayer is said, and before the Benediction, which was ordered to be given just before the Communion. It also directs that priests should receive before the Altar, clerics in the choir, people outside the choir. We have seen that this same order was observed in the ancient Roman Sacramentary. Canon XL refers to the sacerdotal vestments, and forbids clerics to wear two stoles, which it declares to be unfitting for even a deacon or priest to do ; and directs the former to wear the stole over the left shoulder, so that his right arm might be free when he preaches¹ or assists the priest at the Altar ; and also that the stole should be plain and not worked with colours or gold. Order is also given that a mixture of the consecrated Bread and Wine should be made in the Chalice before

¹ This reference to a deacon's preaching shows that the early western custom, according to which bishops only were allowed to preach, did not exist in Spain at this period.

the Benediction is given. This is plainly the rite of the Commixture.

Another Council of Toledo (687) forbids priests to offer the Sacrifice without communicating; because some who offered many times in one day communicated only at the last Mass. Another Council (693) forbade priests to consecrate with common bread, and orders that the breads should be specially prepared.

While these canons and other authorities, to which we will presently refer, establish the fact that the Roman Liturgy was not the early use of Spain, it is by no means clear what that use was.¹ Whatever it was, it must have been affected by the incursions of the Goths, who, having expelled other barbarous invaders, obtained possession of the Peninsula. These people were Christians, having been converted during the numerous inroads which they made into Asia Minor, particularly in Galatia and Cappadocia. Their Bishop Ulphilas (370), a very learned man, translated the Scriptures into their own language, having for that purpose invented a Gothic alphabet founded on the Greek characters. He was sent, with others, on an embassy to the Arian Emperor Valens; and soon after died at Constantinople, having been bishop for forty years, and laboured as such in the country beyond the Danube. He is said to have been or-

Le Brun,
vol. ii.
p. 274.

¹ Dr Neale is of opinion that the groundwork of the present Mozarabic Liturgy is coeval with the introduction of Christianity into Spain, but that the Goths may possibly have added to it, and that S. Leander certainly did introduce, some approximations to the Oriental rite. "Liturgiology," p. 130.

dained by bishops assembled in a Council at Antioch. It is therefore presumable that the Liturgy he used would be more or less of an Eastern type. The Goths are supposed to have been infected with Arianism through the influence of the Emperor Valens, and the bishops who were under him. Le Brun, however, affirms that though they communicated with the Arians, and affirmed that the Father was greater than the Son, yet they never allowed that the Son is a creature. S. Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople (387) took great interest in the Church of the Goths, and is reported to have ordained and sent them a bishop named Oulinas.¹ There was another very learned ecclesiastic, Jean by name, a Goth, born in Lusitania, who passed seventeen years at Constantinople, and on his return to his own country became Bishop of Gerone. It is most probable that these bishops would introduce into their dioceses the Liturgy of Constantinople, or one very similar.²

Vol. ii.
p. 275.

Later on, the well-known learned Liturgist, S. Leander, spent many years at Constantinople, where he contracted an intimate friendship with S. Gregory the Great, who was residing in that city as the envoy

¹ Krazer quotes from an old chronicle, edited by Sirmondus (409), the following statement: "The Goths carried into Spain the Oriental Liturgy, the same as was used in Constantinople."

² A parallel to this may be found in the action of the Scottish bishops during the last century, in the consecration of the first American bishop, since the bishop, whom they consecrated, established the use of the Scottish Liturgy in his diocese of Connecticut. It was by his influence that, when the American Church adopted a Liturgy of its own, this was considerably assimilated to the Scottish.

Le Brun,
vol. ii.
p. 278.

of the Pope, and whose generous sentiments concerning uniformity of rites in different churches are well known from the directions he gave to S. Augustine on his mission to England. Another learned man, Martin, a native of Hungary, who became Archbishop of Braga, is related to have introduced many Greek rites into his diocese.

See note on
Liber Com-
municus in
Appendix.

I think it may be assumed, from the evidence already given, that the Goths brought with them into Spain a Liturgy containing many Greek features. We may therefore conclude, that in the early period of the Gothic rule there were at least two Liturgies in use in Spain, viz., the ancient Spanish, whatever it was, and the one brought in by the Goths. They were both probably derived more or less from Eastern sources, though subsequently, in some degree, assimilated to the Roman Liturgy. When the Goths renounced their Arianism and accepted the Catholic Faith, they formed one Communion with the old Spanish Church and used one Liturgy. S. Lysander, who, as we have seen, presided over the third Council of Toledo, and S. Isidore, the President of the fourth Council, laboured much in the revision and enrichment of the ancient Liturgy. They did not compile a new Liturgy, but revised the existing one. These learned bishops were brothers and became, successively, Archbishops of Seville. We have given grounds for believing that they borrowed much from Oriental sources. It is true that S. Isidore, in words which will soon be quoted, says that it was instituted by S. Peter; "and this mode of celebrating, the whole world performs." But whatever the holy bishop

may have intended, he could not have meant that the Liturgy at which he had laboured so diligently, was the same as that used in Rome. Besides these two bishops, others are related to have taken part in the revision of the Liturgy, chiefly S. Ildefonso and S. Julien. But although the Liturgy was revised and enlarged at different times and by different hands, there is no reason to doubt that substantially it represents the ancient use of Spain.

I will now give S. Isidore's description of the Liturgy: "The Order of the Masses and Prayers by which the Sacrifices offered to God are consecrated was first instituted by S. Peter, which mode of celebrating the whole world performs." The first prayer of this order "is one of admonition to the people that they should make their supplications to God." The second "is one of Invocation, that God would mercifully receive the prayers and oblations of the faithful." The third is one "poured forth (effunditur) for those who offer and for the faithful departed, that through the same Sacrifice they may obtain pardon." - The fourth accompanies the rite of the Osculum Pacis, "and its tenor is that all being reconciled together by love they may be fitly united in fellowship (consocietur) by the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, which is indivisible, and does not admit of dissensions." After this comes the fifth prayer, which is the "Illation" (or Preface) "for the sanctification of the oblation; and the universe of all creatures on earth and in heaven are called upon to show forth the praises of God; and the 'Hosanna in the Highest' is sung, because from the Saviour

"De Ecclesiasticis
Officiis,"
lib. i.
cap. xv.

born of the race of David salvation has come to the world, even to the highest Heaven." The sixth prayer follows, and is "the Consecration ('confirmation') of the Sacrament; that the Oblation offered to God, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost, may be conformed to the Body and Blood of Christ." The seventh and last of these prayers is "that by which Our Lord taught His disciples to pray, saying, Our Father."¹ "These are the seven prayers of sacrifice commended by Evangelical and Apostolical doctrine, and the reason why this number was appointed seems to be, either because of the sevenfold entirety of the Church or the sevenfold fulness of the gifts of grace."

Before we come to consider the Liturgy in detail, I wish to give a brief account of the efforts which were made, first to damage and then to abolish it. The attempts to damage the orthodoxy of the Liturgy were made by the supporters of the Adoptionist heresy. There were in Spain influential supporters of this heresy, the chief of whom were Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo, and Felix, Bishop of

¹ S. Isidore adds: "In this prayer, as the holy fathers have written, seven petitions are contained; in the first three, eternal gifts are asked for; in the four latter, temporal gifts, which are to be sought for the purpose of obtaining those which are eternal. When we say 'Hallowed,' &c., these (*i.e.*, the blessings we ask for) are indeed commenced here, but they are hoped for in their fulness, in that life, where the Holiness of God and His will and His Kingdom will abide with all His saints for ever and ever. But now we ask for our daily bread which is bestowed for the benefit of soul and body; also after the aid of food we ask for pardon according to the manner in which we bestow forgiveness on our brother; and then we pray that we may not fall into temptation."

Urgel. The text of the Liturgy was tampered with and altered. Thus, the words "Adoptionem" and "Adoptivi" were substituted for "Assumptionem" and "Adsumptivi"; the difference being that the one signified that Christ was the adopted Son of God, the other that He had taken to Himself our humanity. The question was much discussed both in Spain and at Rome; and the result was, that in a Council, held in the presence of the Pope, the Liturgy was cleared of any charge of heresy or false doctrine; but a wish was expressed that the Words of Institution as contained in the Mozarabic Missal might be conformed to those in the Roman.

Le Brun,
vol. ii.
p. 292.

But although the Liturgy escaped the charge of heresy, great efforts were subsequently made to abolish its use altogether and to substitute the Roman rite in its place. This was not, however, accomplished without great opposition on the part of the people; but the despotic power of the Spanish Kings, which was put forth in support of the Papal claims, prevailed. The Pope who was most zealous in this matter was the famous Gregory VII. In his letter to Sancho and Alphonso, Kings of Aragon and Castile, he treats those who wished to preserve the ancient rite, as adversaries, and expresses a hope that "the blessed Peter, whom Christ has established as prince over those kings of the world, would direct them with power to the establishment of their desire, and render them victorious over their enemies." He attributes all their national and political calamities, the presence of the heresies of the Priscillianists and the Arians, and all the dissensions in religion, to their

Le Brun,
vol. ii.
pp. 295, 296.

See Hefele
in loco,
Life of
Ximenes.

refusal to adopt the use of the Roman Liturgy. The same Pope, writing to a Spanish bishop, exhorted him "to contend and to labour fearlessly, even to death if necessary, for the suppression of the national Liturgy, and the substitution of the Roman." He even characterises the opponents of Liturgical change, as "wolves and secret murderers." It was thus that the spirit of the fiery Hildebrand vented itself against the national rite. I will give Hefele's account of the opposition offered by the people to Liturgical change, as contained in his interesting *Life of Cardinal Ximenes*. "But when some years after the introduction of the Roman rite had been effected in Castile and Aragon, the attempt was made to introduce it into Toledo, recently recovered from the Moors, and a Council held in the ancient capital had ordered this change, there arose on the part of the Mozarabes an opposition so violent that it became necessary to have recourse to a duel, and to the judgment of God, in order to decide which Liturgy should have the preference. The champion of the ancient rite, Jean Ruyz, triumphed." But the king was unconvinced, and resorted to another trial, the ordeal by fire, *i.e.*, both Liturgies were cast into the fire, when that of Rome was consumed and that of Toledo remained unhurt. Alfonso then opposed his simple authority, and commanded the abolition of the Spanish rite. This was done, but not without great difficulty; and the proverb was made on the occasion: Quo volunt reges, vadunt leges. (The laws go where, or as, the king wills.)

See Neale,
p. 132.

The Mozarabic Office was tolerated in six parishes

in Toledo, but in all other towns and places the Roman rite was forcibly introduced. In the present day the Mozarabic is celebrated only in the chapel attached to the Cathedral at Toledo, built and endowed by Cardinal Ximenes, where the writer has had the privilege of assisting at the service. Dr Neale says, in reference to this chapel: "The Office as seen in the struggling light of a grey morning, the black silent figures kneeling on the floor, the unequal arches that divide the Chapel from the Cathedral, tapers glowing here and there, all has a most striking effect."

I will now endeavour to form, out of the quotations already cited from the various canons, a skeleton Liturgy, and will afterwards compare the sketch with the Liturgy now in use. But before analysing the service itself, let us note certain particulars respecting the dress of the clergy, as ordered in these canons already quoted.

I. That deacons should wear the stole over the left shoulder.

II. Lectors and cantors may not sing in the church in a secular habit.

III. The priest is ordered to wear his stole crossed in front when celebrating.

IV. Bishops to use the pastoral staff and ring; presbyters the stole and chasuble; deacons the stole and alb.

Two particulars have been already mentioned as to Church arrangement:—

(a) The space in which the Altar is enclosed is called the sanctuary, into which the clergy only might

enter; priests and deacons communicate at the Altar; inferior clerics within, and the laity outside, the sanctuary.

(b) Lectors and other inferior clerks were not allowed to carry the holy vessels.

I proceed to give the sketch of the Liturgy itself as presented in the canons of the Spanish Councils already referred to:—

I. One salutation by either bishops or priests: “The Lord be with you.”

II. The Gloria Patri, with the addition of “honour,” to be said at the end of the psalms.

III. The Gloria in Excelsis in its extended form.

IV. The Collect.

V. The Lections ordered to be the same in all churches; and the Apocalypse read from Easter to Pentecost.

VI. The Gospel, and after it, the Alleluia, all through the year, except in Lent.

VII. Deacons allowed to preach.

VIII. The Nicene Creed with the Filioque.

IX. The Our Father, said daily at Mass.

X. The Benediction before Communion.

XI. The Commixture.

XII. In the Communion each kind given separately.

XIII. Priests forbidden to offer the Holy Sacrifice without communicating.

XIV. Those persons who never communicate to be expelled from the Church.

XV. Those who take the Sacrament and do not consume It, are condemned as guilty of sacrilege.

XVI. The Eucharist ordered to be consecrated with bread specially prepared.

XVII. When a priest had charge of more than one church, he was bound to say Mass in each on every Lord's Day.

XVIII. Every priest was ordered to attend Mass daily.

Having given this skeleton from the Canons, I return to the consideration of the Ximenian Liturgy published in 1500. It bears this title, "Missale Mozarabe jussu Francisci Ximenii per Alfonso Ortizium Canonicum Toletanum." Another edition of this codex was put forth in Rome in 1755, with a learned preface and notes by Alexander Lesley, a Jesuit priest, who states that he had seen three previous editions, and from them had formed his own. The first part consists of Masses for the Sundays¹ and the sacred seasons of the Christian year up to the seventh Sunday after Trinity²; part

¹ Just before the Octave of Easter there is inserted a Mass called "Missale Omnium Offerentium." This is preceded by prayers of preparation to be said by the Priest while vesting, other prayers and the Confiteor, and besides these are some to be used at the offertory, for the benediction of bread and wine, and at the washing of hands. There are also invocations to the Blessed Virgin. Dr Neale rightly says, that in this Preparatio of the Missal it is almost impossible to distinguish what may have been of ancient use, what was received from the mediæval church of Toledo, and what were the additions of Cardinal Ximenes. The Omnium Offerentium has been called the Lesser Missal, and is the Common of every Mass.

² Dr Neale has this remark on the absence of other Sundays after Trinity: "The great flaw of the Mozarabic Liturgy is that beyond the seventh Sunday after Trinity, there is no further dominical office, till we come to the Kalends of November; so that for ten or twelve Sundays in the summer the same office is repeated again and again."

II. is entitled the *Sanctorale*, and contains *Masses* for the festivals of the *Saints*, first the *Proper of Saints*, and second the *Common of Saints*. After this follow *votive Masses*, *i.e.* *Masses* for all sorts and conditions of men, and for the departed. The following is the order contained in this *Missal* :—

I. The *Officium* or *Introit*, in which the word “honour” is inserted in the *Gloria Patri*.

II. The *Gloria in Excelsis*, but not in *Advent* and *Lent*.

III. The first *Oratio* or *Collect*. This is not preceded by the *Oremus*, does not conclude with “Through *Jesus Christ Our Lord*,” but is followed by “Through Thy mercy, O Our God, Who art Blessed and livest and rulest all things for ever and ever.” It is not strictly proper for the day: *e.g.* the same *Oratio* occurs throughout *Advent*, the same through *Easter-tide*, and the same, for the most part, for *Festivals of the Martyrs*. On the Sunday before the feast of *S. John the Baptist*, the *Benedictus* is said in place of the *Gloria in Excelsis*. The Priest then says: “The Lord be ever with you”; and the people answer, “And with thy spirit.”

IV. The *Prophecy* or *Lection* from the *Old Testament* follows, preceded by “*Deo gratias*,” and ending with *Amen*.

V. The salutation is repeated, and the *Psallendo* follows, which answers to the “*Psalmellus*” of the *Ambrosian* and the “*Psalmus Responsorius*” of the *Gallican*. It consists of two or more verses, mostly taken from the *Psalms*, and answers to the *Roman*

Gradual, only that the latter is placed after the Epistle, and this before.

VI. On the first Sunday in Lent, portions of the Benedicite were sung before the Psallendo.

VII. At the same Mass, after the Psallendo, order is given that the Priest shall prepare the Chalice with wine and water; and having placed the Host on the Paten, and the Paten upon the Chalice, he should kneel at the foot of the Altar, and say some prayers in the form of a litany, resembling the Greek Ectene. These are said on the first five Sundays in Lent. Those for the first three Sundays are addressed to Our Lord; on the last two they are recited as uttered by Him.

VIII. On Palm Sunday there is "The Tradition of the Symbol," to the Competentes, viz., those preparing for Baptism. This was given after a short sermon which followed the Psallendo. The Gallican and Ambrosian Liturgy had the same arrangement. In the Roman it was given on the Wednesday of the fourth week in Lent; in the Ambrosian on the Saturday before Palm Sunday.¹

IX. The Epistle follows, and before it is read, silence is enjoined. At the giving of the Gospel, the choir say: "Glory be to Thee, O Lord." At the end of each the people respond "Amen."

X. Gospel. The deacon first seeks a blessing.² Vol. II. p. 315, note.
Two Spanish ecclesiastics of the VIII. century, Etherius and Beatus, are quoted by Le Brun as

¹ The Creed used in this office and the Gallican is the Apostles'; Neale, in the Roman it was the Constantinopolitan.

² A special benediction was given before each Lection.

saying: "When the Gospel is lifted from the Altar the deacon says, 'Praise be to Thee,' and the people all respond, 'Praise be to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, King of Eternal Glory.'" They add that lights were carried before the Gospel as a sign of joy. After the Gospel the Priest says: "The Lord be ever with you"; the people answer, "And with thy spirit." "Lauds," varying according to the day and accompanying the Alleluia, follow. The Priest after this kisses the book, saying: "Hail, Divine Word, Reformation of Virtue, Restitution of Health."

Neale,
"Introduction,"
p. 417.

Anciently the dismissal of catechumens took place here.

XI. The Sacrificium or Offertorium follows; and while this is sung the Priest offers the Host with the Chalice, using the following prayer: "Let this Oblation be acceptable to Thy Majesty, Almighty and Eternal God, which we offer to Thee for our guilt and sins: and for the stability of the Holy Catholic Church, and for them that hold the Apostolic Faith: through Christ our Lord. Amen."

See also
p. 61.

He places the Paten upon the "Corporales," and taking the Chalice he sanctifies it thus: "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. We offer to Thee, O Lord, this Chalice, for the consecration of the Blood of Christ Thy Son: and we beseech Thy clemency that it may ascend as a sweet smelling savour before the Face of Thy Divine Majesty: through the Same Christ our Lord. Amen."

He places the Chalice on the Altar, takes the filiola or veil, puts it on the Chalice, saying: "We

beseech Thee, O Lord, to receive this Oblation and be reconciled to us, and forgive the sins of all who offer, and of all for whom it is offered, through Christ Our Lord. Amen." Then follows the same prayer as is in the Roman rite: "In the spirit of humility," &c. This prayer is added: "Come, Holy Ghost the Sanctifier, and sanctify this Sacrifice," &c. This is the same as in the Roman Liturgy, with the addition of the mention of the Holy Ghost. The people then make their offering.

XII. The Priest then puts incense into the censer and censes the Sacrifice "if he will."

XIII. Here he receives water into his hands, and says silently over the Oblation: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Thou, O God, reignest for ever and ever."

XIV. The following prayer is said silently by the Priest before the Altar: "I will come to Thee in humbleness of heart, I will speak to Thee because Thou hast given me much hope and courage: do Thou, therefore, O Son of David, Who revealed in Mystery, didst come to us in the flesh; open the secrets of my heart with the key of Thy Cross, sending one of the Seraphim, that with burning coal taken from Thine Altar, he may purge my unclean lips, enlighten my mind, and give me divine knowledge, that I may teach, and that my tongue may serve Thee by charity to the profit of my neighbour, and may never inculcate error, but evermore preach the message of Thy Truth, through Thee, my God, Who livest and reignest for ever and ever."

XV. *Missa Fidelium*. The prayer following is called the *Missa*, *Oratio*, or *Collect*; but is really more a bidding prayer than a direct address to God. It corresponds to the *Praefatio Missae* of the Gallican rite, and is followed by: "Through Thy Mercy, O Our God, Who art Blessed, and livest and reignest for ever and ever." This is the first prayer of S. Isidore and is called one of "Admonition to the people," to make their supplication to God. It varies with the season. Neale calls it, wrongly I think, the *Collect* for the day.

XVI. The Priest, raising his hands, says, "Let us pray," and the choir respond: "Holy: Holy: Holy, O Lord God, Eternal King, we give Thee thanks and praise." This closely resembles the *Trisagion* of the Eastern Liturgies. Then follows, after a short address, a prayer, "*alia oratio*," which is the second of S. Isidore.

XVII. The Priest exhorts the people to pray for the Church, for the lapsed, for captives, for the sick and for travellers, that God would mercifully vouchsafe to redeem, heal and comfort them. The choir respond: "Grant this, Almighty and Eternal God." Then follows the third prayer of S. Isidore, which is "an invocation to God that He would mercifully receive the prayers and the oblations of the faithful in Whose Presence the names of the Holy Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins are recited, Amen." It is added: "Our Priests, the Pope of Rome, and the rest, offer the oblation to the Lord God for themselves and for all the clergy and people of the Church committed to them, and for all the

fraternity. Also all the Priests, deacons, clerks, and surrounding people offer it in honour of the Saints for themselves and theirs." Choir: "They offer it for themselves and for all the fraternity." The Priest, continuing, says: "Commemorating the most blessed Apostles and Martyrs, the Glorious Virgin Mary, Zacharias, John (Baptist), the Innocents, Peter, Paul," and the other Apostles. The Choir adds: "And all martyrs." The Priest continues: "Also for the souls of them that rest, Hilary, Athanasius, Martin, Ambrose, Augustine, Fulgentius, Leander, Isidore," and others. The Choir respond: "And of all that rest." These are the Diptychs, for the living and the departed. Then follows the Collect, "Post Nomina," because it comes after the Diptychs, and is the third of S. Isidore: "It is poured forth for those who offer, or for the faithful departed, that through this Sacrifice they may obtain pardon." Immediately after, these words follow: "For Thou art the Life of the living, the Health of the sick, the Rest of all the faithful departed, for eternal ages of ages."

XVIII. Then follows the "Preces ad Pacem," the fourth of S. Isidore, which he says is introduced at the giving of the kiss of peace. There follows at the end: "Thou, Who art our True Peace and unbroken Love, livest with Thyself and reignest with the Holy Spirit, one God for ever and ever, Amen." The Priest, raising his hands to Heaven, says, "The Grace of God, the Father Almighty, the Peace and Love of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Communication of the Holy Ghost, be ever with us all." Choir: "And with

all men of good will." This is the form with which the Eastern Liturgies introduce the Anaphora.¹

XIX. The Pax is given in this manner. Priest: "Give the Peace as you now stand." Choir: "My Peace give I to you, not as the world giveth, give I unto you. A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another. Peace I leave you, My Peace I give unto you, not as the world giveth give I unto you. Glory and honour to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost for ever and ever." While the Choir is singing the Peace, the Priest takes the Pax from the Paten, saying: "Have the kiss of love and peace, that ye may be meet for the Holy Mysteries of God," and forthwith gives the Pax to a deacon or acolyte, and he to the people. After that the Priest joins his hands and says: "I will go to the Altar of my God," and the Choir respond, "Who rejoiceth my youth." He lays his hands on the Chalice, "Your ears to the Lord." R. "We raise them to the Lord." Priest: "To our Lord and God Jesus Christ, the Son of God, Who is in Heaven, let us render worthy praise and worthy thanks." R. "It is meet and right."

XX. Then follows the "Illation" or "Preface," and this is the fifth prayer mentioned by S. Isidore, which he describes thus: "for the Sanctification of the Oblation." The "Illations" always varied with the day, and in consequence are very numerous. Dr Neale says: "There are in the present book sixty-six Illations de tempore, sixty-five of particular saints,

¹ The Gallican and Mozarabic give the Peace in this place. The Roman and Ambrosian defer it till after the consecration.

ten of the common of the saints, and fifteen of votive Masses, in all, one hundred and fifty-six." The same learned Liturgiologist gives several very choice examples both for beauty and fulness, but to reproduce them here would unduly extend these pages.¹

XXI. The Ter Sanctus is very similar to the Roman, and has the "Benedictus qui venit"; and at the end the agios is again repeated, "Holy, Holy, Holy, O Lord God."

XXII. This is followed by a prayer called the Post Sanctus, which varies with the Festival. Dr Neale classes this with the "Illation" as one prayer. It always begins with, "Truly Holy, Truly Blessed," and ends with "Eternal Redeemer."

See Le
Brun, vol.
ii. p. 323,
and
Hammond,
p. 327.

XXIII. Then comes the Prayer of Consecration;²

See Theory
of Consecra-
tion.

¹ I give, however, the following for the Fifth Sunday in Advent. The translation is by Dr Neale.

"Through Jesus Christ our Lord, the power of Whose Divine Nativity was begotten by the unbegotten magnitude of Thine own might. Whom we proclaim to have been ever the Son, and generate before all worlds, because, in its fullest and completest sense, the name of Eternal Father was ever Thine; and Whom we confess in honour, majesty, and power equal to Thee with the Holy Ghost, while we own one equal majesty in the Three Persons Whom Angels praise, Archangels venerate, Whom Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Principalities, and Powers adore; to Whom Cherubim and Seraphim," &c.

² Grancolas (p. 317) relates that the Priest raises his voice at the Consecration, and pronounces the words in an audible manner, so that the people may respond Amen at the consecration of each species: There are two elevations, one at this place (i.e., at the consecration) and the second at the end of the Canon before the Pater Noster and the Creed, when the Priest elevates the Body of Christ that It may be seen by the people. At the first elevation the Consecrated Bread and Wine are elevated separately, in the second the Chalice is covered, and the Host is placed above It.

but as I have given this in another place, I will not repeat it here. It is the seventh prayer of S. Isidore.

XXIV. The Consecration is followed by the prayer Post Pridie, which is the sixth prayer of S. Isidore, and is one of extreme interest and importance. It corresponds to the Prayer called "Post Mysterium" or "Post Secreta" of the Gallican Liturgies. These prayers contain unmistakable traces of an Epiclesis, more or less identical with those of the ancient Eastern Liturgies. They occur in precisely the same place, viz., after the Words of Institution, and are very similar in substance.

See Cath.
Theory of
Consecra-
tion, pp. 22,
23.

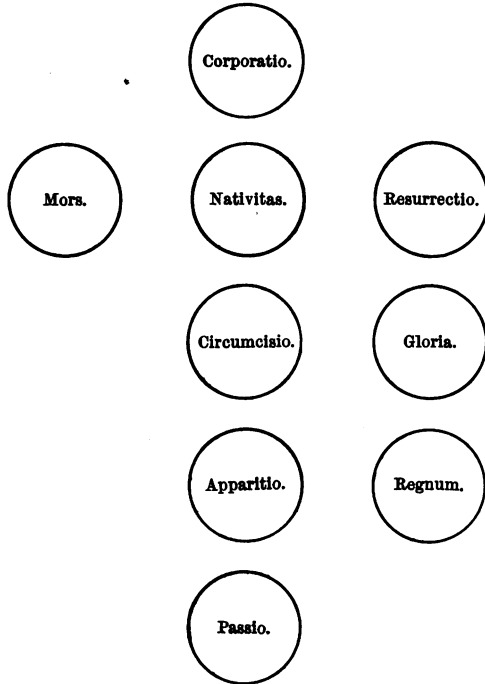
XXV. After the Post Pridie the Presbyter takes the Body of the Lord from the Paten, holds It over the Chalice uncovered, and says with a loud voice: "The Lord be ever with you," and the answer is: "And with thy spirit." The Presbyter says: "The Faith which we believe in the heart, let us confess with the mouth"; and elevates "the Body of Christ, that It may be seen by the people." Then the Choir, two and two, sing the Creed in this form: "We believe in One God."

XXVI. While the Creed is being chanted, the priest breaks the Host,¹ in the middle, into two parts,² and having taken one of these, he breaks It into five, and places these particles in a straight line on the Paten, and they are called by the follow-

¹ On some festivals a verse called the Confractorium is sung in this place, as also in the Ambrosian rite.

² The Latins divide into three parts, the Greeks and other Orientals into four. Bona, p. 812.

ing names ¹:—(1) Corporatio, *i.e.*, the Incarnation ; (2) Nativitas ; (3) Circumcisio ; (4) Apparitio, *i.e.*, Epiphany ; (5) Passio. Having taken the other part, he breaks it into four particles bearing the follow-



ing names :—(6) Mors ; (7) Resurrectio ; (8) Gloria ; (9) Regnum. These are placed on the Paten in the order here represented.

¹ Thus the whole course of Our Lord's being, acting, and suffering in the flesh, with the fruits of it, was in a manner represented.

XXVII. After the Fraction the Priest says Oremus. Then follows the Preface to the Our Father, varying with the season. The manner in which the Our Father is said is peculiar, thus:—

"Our Father Which art in Heaven."	Response.	"Amen."
"Hallowed be Thy Name."	Response.	"Amen."
"Thy Kingdom come."	Response.	"Amen."
"Thy Will be done, as in Heaven so on earth."	Response.	"Amen."
"Give us this day our daily bread."	Response.	"Because Thou art God."
"And forgive us our trespasses : as we forgive those who trespass against us."	Response.	"Amen."
"And lead us not into temptation."	Response.	"But de- liver us from evil."

The Priest adds : "That delivered from evil, and ever confirmed in all that is good, we may be counted worthy to serve Thee Our Lord and God. Make an end, O Lord" (here he strikes his breast), "to our sins, give consolation to those who are troubled : redemption to captives : health to the sick : rest to the departed : grant us peace and security in all our days : confound the audacity of our enemies : and hear, O God, the prayers of Thy servants and of all faithful Christians, both here and at all times. Through," &c. This is the seventh prayer of S. Isidore.

XXVIII. The Priest now takes the Particle called the Regnum from the Paten, and places It upon the Chalice : and at Easter and at other times he says three times : "The Lion from the tribe of Judah, the Root of David has conquered. Alleluia." The Choir

each time replies: "Thou Who sittest upon the Cherubim, the Root of David. Alleluia."

XXIX. Then follows the Sancta Sanctis (a well-known formulary in all Eastern Liturgies), and "the Mixture of the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ," with these words: "May It be to all of us who eat and drink the Same, for pardon: and rest for the faithful departed." He places the Particle in the Chalice and covers It, and says with a loud voice (if there is no deacon present), "Bow down for the Blessing."

XXX. Then he says: "The Lord be with you always," and gives the Benediction, varying with the day;¹ and then: "The Lord be ever with you." After the Blessing the Priest says: "Through the Mercy of Our Lord God Himself Who is Blessed, and liveth for ever and ever. The Lord be ever with you." The Response: "And with thy spirit."

The Choir says, "Taste and see how gracious the Lord is. Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia."

Vers.: "I will bless the Lord at all times, His praise shall ever be in my mouth."

People, "Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia."

Resp.: "The Lord will redeem the souls of His

¹ *E.g.*, on the fifth Sunday after Easter:

"Christ the Lord, Who hath redeemed you by the Blood of His Cross, mortify in you the concupiscence of your flesh." R. "Amen."

"And He that by death triumphed over the powers of hell, render you victorious over your sins." R. "Amen."

"That, as He, rising again, carried into Heaven the glorious flesh of assumed Humanity, so ye may, in the day of Resurrection, stand glorious, and without any sin, before His eyes." R. "Amen."

servants, and will not forsake any who trust in Him. Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia. Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost for ever and ever."

XXXI. Meanwhile the Priest takes the Particle Gloria, and holds It over the Chalice, while he says secretly this prayer: "I will receive the Heavenly Bread from the Table of the Lord, and call upon the Name of the Lord."

XXXII. He adds the "Memento for the dead," which is not written, and having said this, he adds these prayers which follow: "Lord, my God, grant me so to take the Body and Blood of Thy Son Our Lord Jesus Christ, that by It, I may be counted worthy to receive the remission of all my sins, and to be fulfilled with Thy Holy Spirit, Who livest and reignest for ever and ever. Amen." "Hail for ever, Most Holy Flesh of Christ, sweet above all things for evermore."

XXXIII. Here he makes the Sign of the Cross with the Host, and holding the Particle in his hand, covers the Chalice; and coming to the Paten consumes all the Particles in order; afterwards he takes the Paten, places It on the Chalice, and cleanses It, saying this prayer: "Hail for ever, Heavenly Drink, sweet to me before and beyond all things. The Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my body and soul to life eternal." He receives the Sacrament of the Blood, and while he is receiving It, he says: "O Lord, my God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: make me ever to seek Thee and to love Thee, and by this Holy Communion never to depart from

Thee: because Thou art God, and beside Thee there is none else, for ever and ever." Then he administers the Communion to the people, but no words are given, while the Choir sing the "Communion": "Refreshed with the Body and Blood of Christ, we praise Thee, O Lord. Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia."

The Priest says: "The Lord be ever with you," and the answer is: "And with thy spirit."

The Priest goes to the north side of the Altar, and Neale. says: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Which we have eaten, and His Blood Which we have received, remain in us, Almighty and Everlasting God: that It may not turn to our judgment and condemnation, but may profit to our salvation, and the healing of our souls, unto life eternal." Response, "Amen." Priest: "Through Thy Mercy, O Our God, Who art Blessed, Who livest and governest all things to ages of ages."

The Priest then says: "The Lord be ever with you," and the Response is: "And with thy spirit." The deacon exclaims: "Our Office is completed in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. May our prayer be received in peace." On Ferial days it is: "The Mass is completed in the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Let us go forth in peace," and the people say: "Thanks be to God." Le Brun says that the Ximenian Liturgy had the Nunc Dimittis immediately after the ablutions.

[NOTE.

NOTE.—*Liber Comicus.*

A MS. of great interest and value was discovered by Dom Germanus Morin, a Benedictine of the congregation of Beuronensis, and was published by him in 1893 at the printing press of the monastery of Maredsous, near to Dinant, in the Ardennes. It is entitled "*Liber Comicus*," which is a corruption of *Liber Comitis*. It had been preserved for many years in the monastery of Silensis in Spain, and was transferred to the National Library in Paris, where Dom Morin discovered it. It is a Lectionary written in Visigoth characters, containing the prophecies, epistles, and gospels as used throughout the year in the Spanish Church. It differs very considerably from the Ximenian Missal, as edited by Alexander Lesley. There are the following variations:—

(a.) In the Mozarabic there are six Sundays in Advent, in the *Liber Comicus* only five.

(b.) In this Codex, besides the Masses for the Lord's Day, there are special Offices for each weekday of Lent, except the third and fifth ferias of the first, second, and third week; whereas in the Mozarabic there are Masses only for the fourth and sixth ferias.

(c.) In the Mozarabic there are eight Sundays after Epiphany and as many after Pentecost. In *Liber Comicus* there are none after Epiphany, but at the end of the book there are found twenty-four Offices for the Lord's Day and for common days, and this number would have been much larger if the entire Codex had been preserved.

(d.) The same version of Scripture is not always used.

(e.) The feasts of the Saints vary considerably; there are fewer in the *Liber Comicus* than in the Mozarabic, and there is no feast of any confessor, not even of S. Martin, which is celebrated in almost all Western Liturgies.

(f.) Moreover, the same feasts are not always assigned to the same day; e.g., the feast of the Holy Innocents, which in the Mozarabic has place after the feast of S. John

Evangelist, in this Lectionary is placed after the Epiphany ; and the beheading of S. John Baptist, which in the Mozarabic has place on the 29th of August, is in this Lectionary placed after the feast of S. Cyprian, in the beginning of September. There are many other variations, but these will show that this Lectionary belongs to a Missal quite distinct from that which is known as the Ximenian or Mozarabic, and is probably one of the various uses which more or less prevailed before the Council of Toledo, 633.

In the second Council of Braga, 561, it was ordered "that at all the vigils or solemn days, not different, but the same, lections should be read." This decree was binding within the province of Galicia, but the rest of the Spanish bishops were not less careful, as we have seen by the Canon of Toledo just quoted. As there is no evidence that this was ever the sole use of Spain, it follows that there were other Missals, at least one, if not more, in use in Spain, and therefore it may date prior to the Councils of Braga and Toledo.

IV.

THE GALLICAN LITURGY.

I have reserved this Liturgy as the last for consideration, because much light is thrown on it by the more perfect form of the Mozarabic, and, in a less degree, by the Ambrosian Missal. We have no entire text of the Gallican rite. It was so entirely swept away by the Popes and the Carlovingian Kings, that in the time of Charles the Bald, the grandson of Charlemagne, no copies could be found. This King, being desirous of knowing what the ancient rite was, sent to Toledo for priests to celebrate Mass before him according to the Mozarabic Liturgy,¹ as being most closely assimilated to the Gallican. Very close political relations existed between the Roman Pontiffs and the Frankish Kings, and much mutual assistance was given. The Popes, as a rule, were always anxious to promote the use of the Roman Liturgy in the place of national or local rites; and it was in order to gratify the Papal power that these Kings abolished the Liturgy of Gaul, and introduced the Roman in its place. Pepin, the father of Charle-

¹ We also read that this king desired that, beside the Mozarabic, there should be celebrated before him, the rite of Jerusalem, of which "James the Apostle was the author, and that of Constantinople, which bore the name of S. Basil." The mention of the rites of Jerusalem and Constantinople being celebrated before him, would seem to suggest the close relation of the Toledan or Gallican Liturgy to these venerable Oriental rites.

magne, commenced the change by introducing into the Divine Office the Roman mode of psalmody and chant. Charlemagne, his son, was even more zealous in this matter, and ordered, in his Capitularies, that every priest should celebrate the Mass by the Roman Order. We have seen that this King wrote a letter to Pope Hadrian, requesting him to send him the Sacramentary of S. Gregory. This was received in the churches of France, and the priests were ordered to take it as the basis of their Liturgical use. Some details were added to it from the Sacramentaries previously in use, but the original Gallican Missal became, in a short time, entirely obsolete. The eminent Cardinal Bona was the first who sought to recover the ancient Liturgy. This learned man discovered, in what remained of the Liturgy and in the writings of authors who lived while it was yet used, four points in which it differed from the Roman Liturgy :—

(a.) It contained in its lections and prefaces an account of the lives and sufferings of saints and martyrs.

(b.) It had three lections, *i.e.* a Prophecy as well as Epistle and Gospel.

(c.) It was closely similar to the Mozarabic, which, as we have seen, was anciently the use throughout all Spain, and in the Southern province of France, known as “*Gallia Narbonensis*,” subject to the Gothic kings.

(d.) Another point differing from the Roman Liturgy was that silence was enjoined by the deacon ; and this it had in common with the Mozarabic.

These two Liturgies are in tenor and arrangement almost identical, though the prayers vary. Bona specially signalises the commemoration of S. Martin of Tours, mentioned in both, but in the Gallican the saint is designated as "our father."¹

Seeing that the ancient Liturgy of Gaul was distinct from the Roman, and almost identical with the Mozarabic, it remains to be considered whence it was derived. Gaul certainly owed its earliest Christianity to Asia Minor. Its first bishop, S. Pothinus, Bishop and martyr of Lyons, was a disciple of S. John. Irenaeus, who succeeded him, was also a native of Asia, and in his youth had known S. Polycarp. It is most probable that these bishops would use, in the churches they founded, the Liturgical rites they had been accustomed to in the Exarchate of Ephesus. On this account the Gallican Liturgies have sometimes been called Ephesine. But there is no evidence to show that Ephesus possessed a

¹ The following authorities may be quoted as witnesses for the antiquity of the Gallican rite, as distinct from the Roman :—After the death of Charlemagne, Hilduin, a French Abbot of S. Denis in the IXth century, speaks of some ancient Gallican Missals almost consumed by age, as books of the highest antiquity, and says that they contain the order of the Mass as used in the churches of Gaul, ever since they received the Faith. It is well known that S. Augustine on his mission to England, found in Gaul a manner of celebrating the Mysteries quite different from the Roman. S. Gregory of Tours speaks of the Missal used in Gaul in his day as the "Sacerdotal Canon," and the "Ancient Rule," and refers to the three lections. S. Cæsarius, Archbishop of Arles (501), divides the sacred lections into three classes, the Prophecy, the Apostle, and the Gospel. He also states that the episcopal benediction was given at the Mass before the Communion and immediately after the Lord's Prayer. See Le Brun, vol. ii. p. 230.

Liturgy of its own, distinct from other Oriental rites. It can, however, safely be said that the Liturgy first used in Gaul was derived from Asia Minor, and contained many Eastern features. This opinion is confirmed by the circumstance of its similarity to the Spanish, which, as we have seen, was largely Eastern. Among the earliest missionaries in Gaul were two of S. Paul's companions, Crescens and Trophimus. Concerning the former S. Paul says that he had "departed to Galatia." Eusebius and other early writers, as well as Bishop Lightfoot among the moderns, take this to mean Gaul. The name Galatia, as given to an Asiatic province, is supposed to have been derived from the fact that the Gauls settled there. There is a tradition that Crescens founded the Church at Vienne. Trophimus was a native of Ephesus, and having passed into Gaul, made Arles the centre of his mission, and became its first bishop. S. Saturninus, martyr and first bishop of Toulouse, is said to have come from the East. Another evidence of the close relations of the Church of Gaul to the East is afforded by the letter of the Christians of Vienne and Lyons, addressed to the Christians of Asia Minor, concerning the persecutions which they suffered. On these grounds I hold it to be a most probable opinion that Southern Gaul received its Christianity from the East, and their Liturgy contained many Oriental features.

II. S. Tim.
iv. 10. See
Lightfoot on
Galatians,
p. 31, note,
and
Eusebius,
"Eccles.
Hist.,"
bk. iii.
ch. 4.
Le Brun,
vol. ii.
pp. 232, 233.

See Note.

Among the writers who are said to have added to this Liturgy, from time to time, are the following:—S. Sidonius, Bishop of Auvergne, who is said to have composed some Missae, *i.e.*, Collects or Prefaces.

S. Gregory of Tours is related to have added a Preface, and he refers to three books on the Altar containing the three lections, viz., Prophecy, Apostle, and Gospel, and speaks of offerings made after the Gospel, and says that none were allowed to depart till the Mass, *i.e.*, the Sacrifice, was ended, excepting the excommunicate and catechumens. He also states that, at the time of the offering, the deacon brought to the Altar a casket in the form of a tower containing the things necessary to the Sacrifice; and that the Lord's Prayer is said after the Consecration and the Fraction. He makes mention of the Antiphon or Introit, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Responsorius, and that the Laity went to the altar to communicate. Musæus, a presbyter of Marseilles in the V. century, "made a collection of lessons and responses for many Feasts"; and another presbyter of the same diocese did likewise at the request of his bishop, and composed "an excellent and considerable book of Sacraments, with lessons, psalms, and forms of prayer and praise." This writer uses the word "Contestandi," which, as Mabillon remarks, is the term peculiar to the Gallican Liturgy, the preface to the Ter-Sanctus being called the "Contestatio." We are also told that S. Hilary of Poitiers composed a book of hymns. By these additions the variable portions of the Mass were considerably enlarged; but the Liturgy, in its main parts, remained unchanged. Cæsarius of Arles, in one of his sermons, complains of the departure of the people from the church before the offering of the Sacrifice: "I beseech you, brethren, when, on

p. 28, 29.

see Gran-
dolas, pp.
38, 339.

the Lord's Day, or other great festivals, Masses are said, that no one should depart from the church until the Divine Mysteries are completed. For if you diligently consider, you will know that the Mass is not done when the sacred lections are recited in the church; but when the gifts are offered and the Body and Blood of Christ is consecrated. For the lections, whether Prophecy, or Apostle, or Gospel, you can yourselves read or hear others read in your own houses; but you can hear and see the Consecration of the Body and Blood of Christ nowhere except in the House of God. Therefore, whosoever wishes to celebrate the Mass entirely, ought to continue in the church until the Lord's Prayer has been said and the Benediction given to the people." In another homily there is this exhortation: "I exhort and admonish you, that as often as prayer is offered by the clergy at the Altar, or is indicated by the exclamation of the deacon, you should faithfully bow or incline, not your heads only, but your bodies also. For frequently when the deacon exclaims, 'Let us bend our knees,' I see that most of the people stand as so many columns, which is neither lawful nor becoming to Christians during the prayers of the church. Also, when the deacon gives the order that you should bow down at the Benediction, you ought faithfully to incline both your heads and your bodies; for although the Benediction is given through man, it is not from man."

S. Hilary of Poitiers (368) composed a book of hymns, and another on the Mysteries, and refers to churches as temples set apart from profane buildings

for sacraments; and begs the Emperor Constans to permit the people to frequent them to hear the Word of God, to assist at the Mysteries, and to pray for their Emperor. Mention is made in the Life of S. Martin of Tours that in celebrating the Holy Mysteries his Archdeacon served for him; that he put on a tunic to go to the Altar; that a glow of fire was seen on his head while he celebrated; that he exhorted a leper to assist at the Sacrifice, and that he gave him the Kiss of Peace with his own lips, and afterwards the sacred Mysteries, by which he was healed. S. Lupus of Troyes says that subdeacons might receive the Kiss of Peace in the Sanctuary but not at the Altar.

S. Hilary, Bishop of Arles (in 454), sold the ornaments of the church to redeem captives, so that the clergy were reduced to using Patens and Chalices of glass. He preached daily, and dismissed penitents on the Lord's Day before the Mass of the Faithful; and it is said that when he saw people going out of the church after the Gospel was read, he ordered them back, saying: "You are able truly to go forth from this place, but you will not be able to go forth out of hell." S. Eloy, Bishop of Noyau (646), speaks of wax candles carried in procession at the Mass on the Feast of Purification; he describes the ceremony of the washing of the feet on Maundy Thursday, and recommends the custom and precept of the Church to receive the Eucharist fasting. He has these words: "Believe firmly that as the Flesh of Jesus Christ, formed in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, is His true Body which He has offered for our

salvation, so also the Bread which He gave to His disciples, and which priests consecrate daily in the Eucharist, is the true Body of Jesus Christ. There are not two Bodies: It is One and the Same which is broken and offered; albeit He remains unbroken and entire."

S. Columbanus (590), a monk of Bangor in Ireland, passed over into France and founded the Monastery of Luxeuil. In his Penitentiary he describes Penances given to those who suffered either the Eucharist or the Chalice to fall, or who committed any irreverence at the Sacrifice, whether by negligence or accident. He remarks that among the Greeks the faithful communicated every Sunday, and if they failed to do so for three Sundays they were excommunicated; but that with the Latins the people were free to communicate or not; that the Sacrifice was offered for the dead, and one fasted for them; that women should wear a black veil when they communicated; and that a priest might say two Masses in one day at the same Altar.

I may quote from the following French Councils references to this Liturgy; which, of course, in France, would be the Gallican. The Council of Vaison (529), in canon V., directs that the "Kyrie Eleison" should be said in all churches, as is done through all the provinces of the East, and in Italy, both at Matins, Mass, and Vespers. Canon VI. orders that the Sanctus should be always said in all Masses. The Council of Orleans (501), canon XIV., directs that half of the offerings of the Altar be given to the bishop, and the other half distri-

See Hefele's
Councils,
vol. iv. p.
170, and
Granelas,
p. 341.

lefele,
. 91.

buted among the clergy. This council also (canon XXVI.) forbids people to go out of church till after Mass or the benediction by the bishop (canon XLV.). The Council of Agde (506), in canon XXVII. orders all churches to keep the Rogation Day, that all Altars should be consecrated, not only with chrism, but also with the sacerdotal benediction. Canon XLVII. enjoins that the episcopal benediction should be given at Mass, and forbids anyone to go out of church till it is given. The second Council of Vaison (529), at which S. Cæsarius of Arles presided, orders that the priest should preach in his parish, and if he is sick the deacon should read the homilies of the Fathers. The third Council of Orleans (541), canon L., orders that no one, at the oblation of the holy chalice, shall presume to offer anything but wine and water. Again, the people are forbidden to leave the church before the Lord's Prayer or the bishop's blessing is given. Canon XIV. orders that on the principal festivals Mass should be said at the third hour.

francolas,
. 343.

The Council of Tours (566) forbids the Eucharist to be placed anywhere, according to the fancy of the priest, but in the middle of the Altar under the cross. The Council of Auxerre (578), canon X., forbids two Masses to be said at the same Altar on the same day. Canon XXXVI. directs that women should not receive the Eucharist in the bare hand, nor touch the pall which covers the Lord's Body. The Council of Maçon (586), canon IV., orders both men and women to offer both bread and wine at the holy Altar every Sunday; and canon VI. directs that the priest should

celebrate the Communion fasting, and that what remains of the Eucharist shall, dipped in wine, be given to the children on Wednesday and Friday after Mass. This canon implies that the custom of infant, or at least of early communion, was retained in France up to this date.

The Capitularies of Charlemagne ordered that the holy Sacrifice should be offered only in consecrated churches and on Altars of stone dedicated by the bishop; and that names should not be recited before the first oblation; also that curés should preach every Lord's Day and festival, and instruct the people in the Creed and in the Lord's Prayer. A Capitulary of Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, orders that care should be taken that the bread and wine in the Mysteries should be pure, and that the clergy themselves should make the bread, or at least see it made in their presence. It also forbids women to approach the Altar while the Celebration is going on, and directs them to receive in their place. It also forbids priests to say Mass without assistance, and that particular or votive Masses on the Lord's Day should not be publicly said, lest they draw the people from the parochial Mass; and orders that the faithful should be advertised not to eat till they had assisted at the Mass and the preaching.

I now proceed to consider the most ancient and authentic codices representing the Gallican use. Bona was the first to discover two of these; one in the Vatican Library and the other in that of the Queen of Sweden. These, together, with a third,

were published by Thomasius, and republished by Mabillon with a Lectionary which he had discovered at Luxeuil. This Lectionary has the three lections, the Benedicite, and other Gallican features, and it is supposed by Mabillon to be of an older date than either of the Missals. He has given the following names to these three Missals, which all belong to the VII. or VIII. century:—

(a) Gothico-Gallicanum¹ or Missale Gothicum, and he gives as a reason for thus naming it that it was used in that part of France which was subject to the Gothic kings.

(b) The second bears the name of Missale Francorum,² because it was in use in the north-east of France.

(c) The third, “Missale Gallicanum vetus.”

Mr Hammond supposes that the last represents the use of middle Gaul, while the Missale Francorum was, as we have said, the use of north-east Gaul, where the Frankish kingdom was established. Both these in antiquity and entireness are surpassed by the first. The Missale Gothicum is shown to be a Gallican Missal, from its containing a number of

¹ Duchesne says: “This is wrong; it was written for the church of Autun.” This opinion he founds on the circumstance that the codex contains a Mass in honour of S. Leger, Bishop of Autun. The same writer says that Mabillon was also mistaken in describing it as a pure Gallican order, “since it contains many Roman elements.”

² The Missale Francorum is more brief than the others; and Morinus, who had seen it, asserts that it is previous to the year 560, which, however, can hardly be the case, as it contains the clause added to the canon by S. Gregory: “Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas.”

French Saints in its commemorations. Another proof of its French origin is that it contains the three Rogation Days before the Ascension. These were first instituted at Vienne in Gaul, and appointed to be said on these days; whereas, in the Mozarabic use, the three days before Pentecost were appointed as Rogation days. The Mass of the "Tradition of the Symbol" was appointed to be used on Palm Sunday. We find also the Benediction after the Our Father and before the Communion, which is found in all Gallican Liturgies.

See note ii.
in Appendix.

The second Missal (*Missale Francorum*) was edited by Cardinal Thomasius, and afterwards republished by Mabillon. The general tenor, many of the collects, and other variable parts of the Mass, are much the same as those contained in the Gothic Missal, but it has the Roman canon. There are prayers for the kings and princes of the Frankish kingdom, which indicates that at this period the kingdom had not attained to its unity. There is a Mass for only one Saint, and that is S. Hilary of Poitiers. It is mostly composed of services for Ordinations, Consecrations, and Benedictions.


The third Missal (*Missale Gallicanum Vetus*), discovered in the Vatican Library by Thomasius, is described by him as carelessly written, full of errors, with many prayers wanting; but these errors were corrected by Mabillon in his edition of the Missal. A modern hand had given it the name of *Missale Romanum*, which was entirely incorrect, as the Missal is quite Gallican in its tenor and substance. Besides these three, Mabillon discovered a fourth

Missal in the monastery of Bobbio, which he named "Sacramentarium Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ." This is of the VIII. century, and almost entirely Gallican, excepting that the Roman canon is given. From this, as well as from what we have seen in the other Missals, it would appear that the Gauls received the Roman canon into their Missals before they accepted the entire service. For illustration of the Gallican Missal we have already referred to the Lectionary of Luxeuil, which contains among other points of interest the three lections.

Besides these Missals, fragments of the Gallican rite were discovered by M. Mone at Carlsruhe, where he was librarian, and in these he found parts of eleven Gallican Masses, in which the variable parts only are contained. They are included in the Burntisland edition of the Gallican Liturgies by Dr Neale and Mr George Forbes, under the title of *Missale Richenovense*. All the Masses are for ferial days and ordinary Sundays, except one for the Feast of S. Germain.

The "Brevis Expositio" of the Gallican Liturgy published by S. Germain, Bishop of Paris, contains the fullest account we have of this ancient rite. This is given in two letters, entitled "Expositio Brevis." The writer belonged to Autun, was ordained deacon and priest by the Bishop of that city, and afterwards became Archbishop of Paris. It does not contain the Creed, which, as we have seen, was first introduced into the Liturgy by the Spanish Church in the Council of Toledo (585). It therefore follows that it must be of an earlier date.

We will now give a detailed analysis of the



Gallican rite, so far as it can be gathered from the four Gallican Liturgies already referred to: the *Expositio Brevis* of S. Germain (556); Le Brun's description as given in vol. ii. pp. 248 to 264; Duchesne's *Origines du Culte*, chap. vii., and Mr Hammond's *Liturgies*, pp. 293 to 361.

It may be as well to say at the outset that there is no entire copy of the Gallican Liturgy extant; while the Mozarabic and Ambrosian are still in use within narrow limits, the Gallican has entirely disappeared.

I will now take the Liturgy in detail.

I. There is that which is common to all Liturgies of any importance, the Introit, which in the *Expositio Brevis* is termed the "Praelégere," or more properly "Antiphona ad praelegendum."

II. Silence is enjoined by the deacon, that "the people may better hear the word of God."

III. The priest salutes the people, saying: "The Lord be ever with you": to which they respond, "And with thy spirit."

IV. The "Agiós," corresponding to the Trisagion of the Greeks, is given in Greek and Latin.

V. The Kyrie is sung by three acolytes in unison ("ore uno").

VI. In some later Missals the "Gloria in Excelsis," as in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic. This is a Roman importation.

VII. The Prophecy, which here means the Canticle of Zachariah, or the Benedictus. S. Germain says that in Lent, instead of this, a canticle, "Holy God of the Archangels," was sung.

See
Duchesne,
p. 184.

VIII. The Collectio post Prophetiam: a prayer in accordance with the season; and the mutual Salutation is given before and after the lections.

IX. The Prophetical Lection taken from the Old Testament. On Festivals of the Saints, a reading of the passion or memoir of the life of the Saint is substituted.

X. The Responsorius, answering to the Gradual or Tract, which in the Roman rite comes between the Epistle and Gospel. In some churches of the Gauls the Song of the Three Children was here sung at the Christmas Mass.

XI. The Apostle or Epistle. Here the deacon again enjoins silence. The Epistle is read by a sub-deacon; and during Eastertide the lections were taken from the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse. This was in conformity with Eastern custom and the Mozarabic use. In Quinquagesima, which probably included Lent, the lections were taken from the Old Testament.

Le Brun,
vol. ii.
p. 254.

XII. The Gospel followed. A procession was formed in which the deacon, bearing the Gospel, and preceded by seven lightbearers (sometimes five), ascended the Ambo, and before he commenced to read, the clerics exclaimed: "Glory be to Thee, O Lord," and at the end: "Glory to God Almighty." While the deacon is returning to the Altar the Agios is again sung.¹

See
Duchesne,
p. 188.

XIII. The homily or sermon follows. The right

¹ S. Germain is the only author who mentions the chant of the Trisagion as accompanying the procession of the Gospel in going and returning.

of preaching was not restrained to bishops. The Council of Vaison extended it to presbyters. It is observable that this order was made after Pope Celestine had written to the bishops of the province censuring this practice. In the "Expositio" the preacher is enjoined to "compose his discourse so skilfully that it may not offend the learned by its rusticity, nor be made obscure to the simpler hearers by its cultured style."

XIV. The Prayer of the Faithful had place here, and consisted of a litany said by the deacon, and followed by the *Collectio post Precem*. Then came the dismissal of the catechumens, while the faithful alone remained in the church. Silence is again enjoined. The Mass of the faithful commenced here.

Mabillon,
p. 40.
Le Brun,
vol. ii.
p. 254.

XV. *Praefatio Missae*,¹ proper for the day of festival, in which the people are admonished to ask for special graces.

XVI. The Offertory,² or the first oblation, *i.e.*, the offering of the bread and wine, now has place; and the "Sonum," consisting of one or more verses, corresponding to the "Offertorium" of the Roman Liturgy, is sung. During, or immediately following this, the deacon brings from the aumbry a "capsa" or case, sometimes in the form of a small tower, which

¹ Duchesne calls it the Prayer of the Veil, I suppose because it holds the same place in the Liturgy as this prayer does in the Eastern rite, but I know no Gallican authority or precedent for so calling it.

² If there are more gifts offered than are required for the Consecration, the surplus was ordered to be blessed and given to the non-communicants. See Council of Nantes, about 658. Landon, p. 416.

contained the Sancta, or the Host consecrated at a previous Celebration, and places it on the Altar. At the same time the Chalice and other sacred vessels were carried from the sacristy to the Altar. The Oblation was then made, and the gifts were covered with a veil called the Pall, made of silk or fine linen. The prayer, "Veni Sanctificator," identical with that contained in the Roman Missal, was now said. In some MSS., *e.g.*, one at Claremont, this prayer is found: "O God, Almighty Father, we pray Thee that Thy Holy Word and the Spirit of Unsearchable Glory may descend" (*i.e.*, upon the gifts). Compare this with the epiclesis in the Scottish Liturgy: "Thy Word and Holy Spirit."

XVII. The Offertory having been made, the Dipsychs, or prayers for the living and departed, follow. Mr Hammond quotes one of these forms from a Codex belonging to the Church of Arles, thus: "At the same time we pray Thee, O Lord, for the souls of Thy servants, formerly our fathers and teachers (the names follow) . . . and of all our brethren whom Thou hast called to Thyself from this present life. Also being mindful of all the faithful belonging to this place, and likewise our relations who have served Thee here: and for the souls of all Thy faithful servants and pilgrims departed in the peace of the Church: that Thou, O Lord our God, wouldest bestow upon them pardon for sin and eternal rest." The Collect "Post Nomina" follows.¹

¹ This portion of the Liturgy corresponds very closely with the order described in the nineteenth canon of the Council of Laodicea, which directs that: "After the bishop's sermon shall be said sepa-

There is this speciality in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, that the Commemoration of the living and departed is placed before what is technically known as the canon, while in all other Liturgies it is within it, though not always in the same position. But it should be observed that these prayers are always placed after the Offertory or First Oblation, which may be regarded as the commencement of the Sacrificial Act, which culminates in the Great Oblation. I therefore contend that in a wide Liturgical sense they may be reckoned within the canon.

XVIII. The Pax is then given, and the Collect "Post Pacem" is said.

XIX. Then follows the "Contestatio," "Immolatio" or "Illatio," which corresponds to the Roman "Preface"; the *Sursum Corda*,¹ and the *Sanctus*, common to all Liturgies.

XX. Then the prayer, "Post Sanctus," and this immediately precedes the Consecration, which, as given in the *Missale Francorum*, is according to the Roman Canon.²

rately the prayers for the catechumens, then those for the penitents, and lastly, those of the faithful; after which the Kiss of Peace shall be given, and after the priests have given it to the bishop, the lay persons present shall give it to each other; and that ended, the administration of the Holy Eucharist shall proceed." See Landon, "Hist. of Councils."

¹ S. Germain says the priest admonishes the people to lift up their hearts, and he gives this reason: "That no earthly thought may remain in our heart at the time of the Sacred Oblation, and that Christ may be the better received in the mind when our sole thought stretches forth to Him."

² The original Canon, sometimes called the *Post Sanctus*, is not given entire in any Gothic Liturgy. For the Mozarabic form of Consecration, see "Theory of Consecration," p. 21. S. Gregory of

XXI. The prayer which follows the Consecration¹ is called in the Gallican rite "Post Secreta" or "Post Mysterium"; in the Mozarabic, "Post Pridie." It is sometimes a prayer for the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the Gifts, that He may transform them into the Body and Blood of Christ. In this form it entirely corresponds with the Epiclesis of the Eastern Liturgies; but it is not always in this form. It is sometimes a Commemoration of Christ's Passion and Sacrifice, and sometimes a prayer for a worthy reception.

On this prayer, see "Theory of Consecration."

XXII. The Fraction and Commixture follow; whether the Fraction was done after the elaborate manner prescribed in the Mozarabic rite is not said; but as Mabillon, when referring to it, says nothing of any difference, we may infer it was the same in both.

XXIII. The Our Father follows, with the Preface and Embolismus, according to the general Liturgical use, but with this peculiarity, that both were variable according to the season. Here is a specimen of the Embolismus: "Deliver us, O Almighty God, from evil, and confirm us in what is good: take from us all vices, and fill us with virtue." The Our Father was said by the people as well as by the priest.

Tours seems to refer to the Consecration when he speaks of the Holy Gift being blessed after the Catholic manner by the sign of the Cross made over it.

¹ Mr Hammond gives a specimen of this prayer, taken from the Gallican Missal for the Vigil of the Nativity of Our Lord: "Truly Holy, Truly Blessed, Our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, remaining in Heaven yet manifest on earth. For He Himself, the night before He suffered," &c., which are the first words of the Consecration. It is much to be regretted that the rest is not given.

XXIV. At this place a special Benediction was given to the people, before their Communion, or their departure; since those who did not communicate were allowed to depart after this Benediction, but not before. This Benediction was originally restricted to bishops, but was subsequently allowed to be given in a shorter form by priests. It is a special feature of the Liturgies of the Gallican family; and the form in which it was given varied with the season or day.

XXV. The Communion. The faithful, both men and women, received at the Altar. The men received the Host in their bare hands, but the women were ordered to wear a fold of white linen over their hands, called the "Dominical." During the Communion an antiphon was sung, called the "Trecanum," which seems to have been a short canticle in honour of the Blessed Trinity, and corresponded to the "Communio" in the Mozarabic and Roman rites.

XXVI. Two prayers follow, one called "Collectio post Communionem," the other "Consummatio Missae." The first was of the nature of a Bidding Prayer, much the same as in the Liturgy of S. Clement, thus: "Signed with the Heavenly Food and Drink, let us, dear brethren, offer praise and thanks to Almighty God, begging of Him, that we, whom He has counted worthy to be partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ, may also be deemed meet to receive the eternal rewards." Or this: "Fed with Heavenly Food, we pray the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, that all carnal desires being mortified

See Synod
of Auxerre,
578.

See Ham-
mond,
p. 359.

we may in all things live holy and spiritual lives, through Jesus Christ." There is added the well-known collect: "What we have taken with our mouth may we receive in our hearts, and that the temporal gifts may be made to us an eternal remedy"; and there are other prayers.¹

The "Consummatio Missae" was a thanksgiving prayer, thus: "We give thanks to Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Eternal God, Who hast refreshed us by the partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, Thy Son: and we humbly entreat Thy Mercy that this Sacrament may not be to us for guilt to condemnation; but a saving intercession for our pardon, and the cleansing away of sin, the strengthening of our frailty, and a defence against the perils of the world. May this Communion purge us from our faults, and make us to be partakers of heavenly joy." Those who did not communicate received the Eulogia, unless they were excommunicated.

Mabillon,
"Lit. Gal.,"
p. 53.

See vol. ii.
p. 264.

Le Brun has these words: "Whosoever will take the trouble to compare the order of this Liturgy with that which is contained in the Apostolic Constitutions, and other Eastern Liturgies, must be convinced that this Gallican Order comes not from the Roman, but from the Churches of the East, which had so close a relationship with the Churches of Gaul from the II. century," which is our contention.

¹ These correspond to the Post Communion address in the Scottish Liturgy, and one other, the Clementine of the Eastern Liturgies.

NOTES.

NOTE I. (See p. 125.)

This theory, however, is combated by the learned Abbé Duchesne, but I venture to think on inadequate grounds. His contention is that the Liturgy is too precise and complicated for one of the II. century, and is far from those simple forms which one may suppose to have had place in those of that time. This I think is purely a matter of opinion, which is open to debate, since the learned writer himself is compelled to put it on such grounds, as he says "is supposed to be." One would hardly say that simplicity was a special characteristic of the most ancient of Eastern Liturgies. Besides, it is most probable that the Gallican Liturgy did in lapse of time receive accretions, which have made it more complex than it was in its earlier form, but which have not affected its identity.

The same learned writer refers to the history of the Metropolitanate of Lyons, which I fail to recognise as at all *ad rem* to the question of the Liturgy. I regret that so learned a man should indulge in the sneer at the Anglican Church contained in a note on page 85. He treats the contention of Anglican Liturgiologists, which I have adopted, in this manner: "The Apostle S. John, by the intermediary of SS. Polycarp and Pothinus, is made by this system to be the ancestor of the High Church of the United Kingdom. To be Apostolic without being Roman is very seducing." I respectfully submit that ridicule is not argument. The same writer, referring to the Church in Lyons, makes this surprising statement: "There is no proof that its first founder was an Asiatic rather than a Roman. Even supposing he was an Asiatic, it is very possible that he had first lived in Rome, and there received his Mission"! I know not that the historic statement that S. Pothinus was the first bishop of Lyons, and that he

was a disciple of S. Polycarp, has ever been discredited ; and if we are to accept possibilities of occurrences, not recorded, as facts, history would become in large part a record of mere probabilities.

Have we here an instance of even learned and able authorities, having formed strongly, in their own minds, a theory, making events and circumstances to accommodate themselves to its support ?

NOTE II. (a) *Missale Gothicum.*

This Missal commences with the Mass for the Vigil of Christmas and the usual order of feasts follows, excepting that S. James is connected with S. John in his commemoration. There are commemorations of Saints interposed between Epiphany and Lent, but none for the Sundays. There are no commemorations of Saints during Lent. There are six Masses for the Sundays before Palm Sunday, and on that day there is, as has been said, the Mass of the "Tradition of the Symbol." In Holy Week there is the Mass In Cœna Domini, but no Mass for Good Friday. There are, however, prayers entitled *Orationes in Biduana*, which is apparently the name given to Good Friday, and to this day four prayers are assigned to be said, and two to the Holy Sabbath. There are three Masses given for Easter Eve : one entitled "In Vesperas Paschæ," the second "Ad Initio (initium) Noctis Sanctæ Paschæ," and the third, "In Vigiliis Sanctæ Paschæ." These Masses contain prayers for the consecration of the paschal light, and for benediction of fonts, and for baptisms. There are also twelve "paschal prayers" for all sorts and conditions of men, each preceded by a preface. The Mass for Easter Day follows, and one termed "Missa Matutinalis," to be said through the whole of Easter ("per totum Pascha") for those children who have been baptised. Each day in Easter week has its Mass. There is one for Low Sunday, which is called "Ad Clausum Paschæ," one for the Invention of the Cross, and one for S. John before the Latin Gate,

and no other till the Rogation Days, each of which has its Mass; and following these there are Masses for Ascension and Pentecost. To these succeed those for the Proper and Common of Saints, including Confessors, and among these the Nativity and Passion of S. John Baptist, the Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, and of the feast of S. Martin, who is termed "our Bishop." Then follow six "dominical" Masses, *i.e.*, for Sundays. Mabillon observes that there p. 300. were two Masses before Christmas at the beginning of the Codex, but they have been removed.

(b) *Missale Francorum.*

This Missal contains services for the ordination of door-keepers, deacons, presbyters, and bishops. There are benedictions of virgins and altars, prayers and Masses for the kings of France, Masses for the Common of Saints, one for S. Hilary; four daily Masses called "cotidianæ," *i.e.*, quotidianæ, with the Roman Canon, as far as the Memento of the dead.

(c) *Missale Gallicanum.*

This commences with a Mass of S. Germain, followed by one for the benediction of virgins and of widows. Then there are only two Masses for Advent, followed by three for Christmas, though the third is imperfect. We come next to the Masses for Holy Week including the rite of the "Tradition of the Symbol," in which the Creed given is the Apostles' Creed, and each sentence is followed by an explanation. Then come the "Aurium apertio," at which certain portions of the Gospels are read and explained to the Catechumens; the "Scrutiny of the Symbol," followed by the Lord's Prayer, with an explanation of every petition; and the second "Exposition of the Symbol," in which the Creed is again explained. There

is a Mass, "In Coena Domini," and on Good Friday a lection taken from Hosea, after which is a prayer, and then a lection of the Gospel. Then follow eleven prayers, each one preceded by a preface or exhortation; for the Catholic Church, the Pope, the bishops, clergy, virgins, widows, and all people, kings, catechumens, sick, heretics and schismatics, Jews and pagans, much as in the Roman Missal for Good Friday. On Easter Eve there were special prayers appointed for Sext and Nones, and what is called "Oratio in Vespera Paschæ." This service contains a long and most beautiful preface at the benediction of the paschal light, and twelve prayers for similar, though not the same, objects as on Good Friday. There follows an order for Baptism and benediction of fonts; there is a Mass for the Vigil and for Easter Day, and for each day in Easter Week, and for Low Sunday, called "Clausula Paschæ." There are two Masses after Easter and before the Ascension. Then come the Rogation Days, as in the Gothic Missal, but all the rest is wanting.

V.

THE CELTIC OR EARLY BRITISH LITURGY.

It is certain that Christianity was brought into Britain at an early period, but there is no authentic record of the actual date of its introduction, or of its first missionaries. The tradition which would assign its introduction to an Apostle, or the contemporaries of the Apostles, rests on no certain authority; but there is no reason to doubt the touching story of the Martyrdom of S. Alban (in 304) at Verulam. This narrative shows that Christianity had found its way to Britain as early as the third century. The circumstances of the case are these:—A British Christian priest, fleeing from persecution, took refuge in the house of S. Alban, who was then a heathen. Being impressed with his guest's habits of devotion, he accepted his instructions and embraced his religion. A few days after, soldiers were sent to arrest the priest, when S. Alban put on his teacher's cloak (caracalla), met the soldiers, declared himself a Christian, and was thereupon martyred. There are also other martyrdoms recorded as taking place about the same time.¹ British Bishops are said to have been present at the Councils of Nicea (325), Arles (428), Rimini (359), and also at various Gallican Councils, Tours (461), Vannes (465), Orleans (511), and Paris

See Bright's
Early Eng.
Ch. Hist.,
pp. 6-8.

¹ In 358 S. Hilary of Poitiers wrote a book "De Synodis" which he addressed to the Bishops of Britain among others.

(555). The record of the fourth century supplies us with the account of S. Ninian (350), son of a British chief, who received consecration at Rome, and returned as a missionary to his native country. On his homeward way he paid a long visit to the famous S. Martin, Bishop of Tours. Returning to his native land he went on a mission to the inhabitants of the Roman Province of Valentia, founded a missionary bishopric, and built a church of stone, which was known as Candida Casa. He also founded a monastery which became a famous school for priests and missionaries.

Fleury's
Hist. Ecc.,
vol. II. p. 36;
also Todd's
Irish
Church, p. 8.

See Warren's
"Celtic
Church,"
p. 30.

pp. 81, 82.

At a later period S. Patrick also paid a long visit to S. Martin, and is said to have spent three years in the Monastery of Marmoutier at Tours, and also to have studied under S. Germain of Auxerre. He was consecrated at Rome by S. Celestine. S. Palladius also is related to have been consecrated at Rome, in the fifth century, and sent by the Pope Celestine to "the Britons already believing in Christ."¹ SS. Ternan and Serf are traditionally associated with S. Palladius in his missionary labours. Mr Warren quotes from the Aberdeen Breviary to the effect that when S. Palladius arrived in Scotland he found that there were "teachers (*doctores*) of the Faith, ministers of the Sacraments (*presbyters*), and monks following the rite and custom of the Primitive Church only."

In the early part of the same century, the British

¹ The Bishop of Edinburgh, in his most interesting little book on the Celtic Church in Scotland, puts the quotation from Fordun thus: "To the Scots believing in Christ," which, of course, at that period, would mean the Irish.

Church appealed to the Bishops of Gaul to assist in putting down the heresy of Morgan, otherwise Pelagius, a Welshman; from whom the heresy was known as Pelagianism. In response to this appeal the Gallican Bishops sent over two of their number—Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes—and to them submission was made.¹ In the next century, S. Augustine was sent on a mission to the Anglo-Saxons by Pope Gregory I., and was consecrated by Gallican Bishops. These facts demonstrate the close relations of the Gallican and British Churches, and form the highest probability that British Bishops, who had studied in France, and in some cases had been consecrated by Gallican Bishops, would introduce into Britain the Liturgy of that country; though probably with some modifications. It is also most likely that those missionaries consecrated in Rome and sent into Britain would bring with them the Roman Liturgy; and that, after S. Augustine's arrival, two Liturgies were in use in Britain, until the suppression of the Celtic. Duchesne gives the opinion that "the British Liturgies were mixed,

¹ The same learned Bishop endorses the view of some authors that Germanus and Lupus were commissioned by the Pope Celestine. There is no sufficient evidence, that I have seen, given of this. In the absence of such evidence, I should infer, from the close friendly intimacy of the British and Gallican Churches, that these Bishops came over at the call of the British Church, without any intervention of the Pope. The only writer who has asserted that these Gallican Bishops derived their commission from the Pope is Prosper of Aquitaine in the fifth century, whom Mr Warren accuses of a strong Roman bias; and against his account may be alleged that of Constantius, a presbyter of Lyons, in the same century, to the effect that they were sent by a Gallican Synod. See Warren, p. 32, note 5.

fundamentally Roman but Gallican in certain details." A further question arises whether the Celtic Church in Britain used the same Liturgy as the Church in Ireland. Spelman quotes, from an old author, a reference to the "*Cursus Gallorum*" and the "*Cursus Scotorum*." The latter, he says, was derived from S. Mark, and introduced into Ireland by S. Patrick, who had received it from S. Germain. The "*Cursus Gallorum*" is said to have been of Ephesine origin. But, seeing that the "*Cursus*" was the name of the book of the Divine Offices, or the Breviary, and did not include the Liturgy, this account does not aid our inquiry; unless we assume that a variation in the Office suggests a variation in the Liturgy.

see
[abillon
i loco.

Before we proceed to give an account of such remains of the Early British or Celtic Liturgies as have survived, it will be well to refer briefly to one very important centre of worship and evangelisation, from which not only a large part of Scotland, but the northern portion of England was evangelised—namely, Iona. This monastery was founded by S. Columba in the sixth century. From this centre of light went forth Apostolic men, as S. Aidan, who founded the Church in Northumbria, and became Bishop of Lindisfarne (651); S. Cedde or Chad, Bishop of Lichfield; S. Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and others. The See of Lindisfarne "became, in turn, a centre of missionary labour, scarcely, if at all, inferior to the mother-house itself." The ancient Abbey of Melrose was founded from Lindisfarne by S. Aidan, and its first Abbot was Eata, one of twelve Northumbrian boys taught and trained

ishop
owden's
Celtic
h.," p. 160.

by S. Aidan. Another of these was the famous S. Chad. It was in the Abbey of Melrose that S. Cuthbert, "the shepherd boy," was trained for his future labours. S. Kentigern, in the sixth century, evangelised Strathclyde, or, at least, restored the Christian Church in that district. The Celtic rites, after long conflict, were finally abolished at the Synods of Whitby (664), and of Cloveshoo (747); though they lingered on in some places. We shall see that the Celtic Liturgy, judging from what remains, was of Eastern form, or, at least, contains many Eastern features.

THE STOWE MISSAL.

The most complete relic of the ancient Celtic Liturgy is the one known as the Stowe Missal, published, with copious notes, by Mr Warren, who considers it "the earliest surviving Missal of the Irish Church." He is of opinion that it originally belonged to some church, possibly the monastery founded by S. Ruadham, in the county of Tipperary. He adds: "There seems little reason to doubt that the whole Ordo Missæ, as it now stands, was in use in some church in Ireland in the tenth century, and the older portion of it perhaps in the ninth century. The "Missal" contains an "Order of Baptism," one for the "Visitation of the Sick," another for the "Sacrament of Extreme Unction," and a fourth for "Communicating the Sick." Then follows the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass.

See Warren's
"Celtic
Church,"
p. 201.

I. This commences with a litany; which feature it

possesses in common with the Mozarabic and Ambrosian rites.

II. Two prayers follow of a penitential character; for the priest by himself and for the people. These prayers correspond to the "Apologia" of the Mozarabic and Eastern Liturgies.


III. Then this short prayer "to be said at every Mass": "Let our prayer ascend to the throne of Thy glory, O Lord, and let not our petition return to us empty. Through," &c.

IV. After this is a prayer with a singular title: "In the solemnities of Peter and of Christ."

V. Then the Gloria in Excelsis, in the Eastern form (as given in the Codex Alexandrinus, and as now preserved in the Scottish Liturgy), with the insertion of these words after 'Holy Spirit of God': "and we all say, Amen." It is found in precisely the same form both in the Bangor Antiphonal and the Irish fragment, "The Book of Hymns."

VI. After the Gloria comes a Collect, identical with our own for the sixth Sunday after Trinity: ("O God, Who hast prepared for them that love Thee").

VII. Then we have a heading "Orationes et Preces misericordiæ ecclesiæ Romanæ" (prayers and supplications of the Roman Church for mercy), which word Roman suggests a difference between the local or Celtic and the Roman use. Then: "First Prayer of S. Peter," which is: "O God, Who by sin art offended, by penitence appeased, look upon the groans of Thy afflicted, and grant that the evils which we justly deserve Thou wouldest of Thy mercy graciously avert. Through," &c.



VIII. We have next the Epistle, which is taken from 1 Cor. xi. 26–32. The lections of Epistle and Gospel seem to have been the same throughout the year. At the end of the Epistle two prayers, in the form of Collects, are given; then some short versicles, taken mostly from the Psalms. These versicles may be regarded as corresponding to the Gradual of the Roman and the Psallendo and Psalmellus of the Mozarabic and Ambrosian rites. After the versicles there is a prayer that “God would mercifully look upon the Sacrifice, that it may be for the furtherance of our salvation.”

IX. A second litany¹ follows, and at the head of it there is this inscription: “(Here) begins the deprecation of S. Martin for the people.” In this Celtic Litany we find the following petition: “That we may be mindful of the holy Apostles and Martyrs, and that, through their prayers for us, we may be counted worthy to obtain pardon.” I think this prayer may be taken as a fair specimen of the commemoration of the saints at that period. Mr Warren has this pertinent remark: “The association of these prayers with the name of S. Martin, Bishop of Tours, indicates that though of Eastern origin, they reached Ireland through a Gallican channel.” There is no doubt of the existence of such a litany in the Gallican Missal, and we have seen that it still has place in the Moz-

¹ Mr Warren has pointed out that these intercessions correspond to those contained in a passage of the Rule of S. Columban.

S. Columban must not be confounded with S. Columba. The former was monk of Bangor in Ireland, and went as a missionary to Gall, where he founded the Monastery of Luxeuil.

arabic and Ambrosian Liturgies, on certain days. It has been pointed out that in "the Roman Order" litanies were sung in the procession to the Church of the Station, and in such case the Kyrie was not repeated, as was otherwise usual, at the beginning of the Mass.

X. The Collect which follows is taken from the Roman Sacramentaries, and belongs to the class of prayers known in the Mozarabic and Eastern Liturgies as the 'Apology of the Priest,' *i.e.*, his confession of sin and unworthiness.

XI. A short versicle is said thrice "while the veil is lifted from the Chalice." The Chalice seems to have been prepared in this place, *i.e.*, before the Gospel, according to Gallican use; but there is no trace here of a mixture of the water with the wine, though it was the universal custom of the Celtic, as of the rest of the Catholic Church.

See
Warren's
"Celtic
Church,"
p. 133, and
Bishop
Dowden's
"Celtic
Church in
Scotland,"
p. 234.

XII. A prayer follows, very similar to the "Veni Sanctificator," which is used at the first Oblation in the Roman and Gallican rites. It is this: "Come, O Lord, Almighty Sanctifier, and bless this sacrifice prepared for Thee."

XIII. The Gospel is S. John vi. 51-57. There is no trace of any other Gospel. Mr Warren observes: "The presence here of one single fixed lesson is remarkable, and an evidence of great antiquity. The only other case where the same Epistle and Gospel are conjectured to have been always used is that of the Liturgy of the Church of Malabar."

XIV. After the Gospel follows a prayer: "Super Evangelium," which is ascribed to S. Gregory; and

three verses from S. John's Gospel, chap. vi. verses 54-56.

XV. The Creed, which has place here, does not contain the "Filioque," and in this particular it agrees with the Gelasian Sacramentary, as the Creed is given in the "Tradition of the Symbol." This versicle follows: "Shew us Thy mercy O Lord; grant us Thy salvation"; sung thrice.

XVI. And, then, Offertory prayers, as: "Sanctify, O Lord, the offered gifts and cleanse us from the stains of our sins." "O God we beseech Thee mercifully to accept the offerings of our devotion, and through these glorious sacrifices, purify the hearts of those subject unto Thee. Through," &c. "We offer these Oblations and sincere Drink-Offerings O Lord Jesus Christ Who didst suffer for us, and didst rise the third day from death, in behalf of the souls of our dear ones (of both sexes) whose names we recite, and also of those whose names are not mentioned here, but which are written by Thee in the book of eternal life." Mr Warren refers to the prayers in the Gallican and Mozarabic Liturgies, known as "Post Nomina," as containing frequent mention of "The Book of Life." These Collects have a close resemblance to the Diptychs in the Gallican and Mozarabic Liturgies, and are in the same place, viz., after the first Oblation and before the Canon. Then comes another prayer for the acceptance of the Oblations and for the salvation of the faithful departed.

XVII. The Sursum Corda, without the previous mutual salutation, follows.

See Mr
Wilson's
edition,
p. 54.

See Warren,
pp. 256-258.

See Wilson,
p. 54.
p. 257.

XVIII. Then comes the Preface, with a wonderful accumulation of adjectives prefixed to the name of God. Proper prefaces are supposed to be indicated, but are not given.

XIX. The "Benedictus qui venit" has this addition to the usual form: "Hosanna in the highest, blessed is He Who cometh from Heaven that He may converse on earth; Who was made man that He might blot out the sins of the flesh; Who was made a victim that, through His Passion, He might give eternal life to those who believe. Through," &c.

XX. The Canon follows, and is here called the "Dominical Canon of Pope Gelasius," which, as we have seen, is substantially the same as the present Roman. It has, however, some variations and additions, *e.g.*, in the "Te igitur," the Pope is called the Bishop of the Apostolical See, and he, as well as "our Bishop and Abbot," is prayed for; and in the "Memento," the words "for whom we offer" and "for the hope of their safety and salvation" are omitted, and instead these words are inserted "pro stratu seniorum"; intercessions are added for the purity of all ministers; for the integrity of virgins and continence of widows; for the temperature of the air; for abundance of the fruits of the earth; for the return of peace and end of strifes; for the safety of kings and the peace of nations; for the return of captives; for fulfilment of the desires of those present; for the commemoration of martyrs; for the remission of our sins and amendment of our doings; for the rest of the departed; for the safety of those who travel; for our Lord Pope, Bishop, and all Bishops and Presbyters; for the

whole ecclesiastical order ; for the Roman Empire ; for all Christian Kings ; for our brothers and sisters ; for our brothers on their journey (in *via directis*) ; for our brothers whom the Lord hath vouchsafed to deliver from the thick darkness of this world, that His divine mercy may receive them into the eternal and divine (joys) of the serene and perfect light ; for our brethren who are afflicted with various kinds of sorrows, that the divine mercy may vouchsafe to heal them."

(b) In the "Hanc igitur" there are these additions : "Which we offer to Thee in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and in commemoration of Thy blessed martyrs, in this church which Thy servant has built to the honour of Thy glorious Name, and that Thou wouldest deliver him and all people from the worship of idols and convert them to Thee, the True God and Almighty Father."

(c) In the actual Prayer of Consecration, "Qui pridie," to the words after "As often as ye do this ye do it in remembrance of Me" are added "Ye shall declare My Passion, ye shall announce My Resurrection, ye shall hope for My Advent, until I shall come to you again from Heaven."

(d) In the second "Memento," after "Remember, O Lord, the names of those who have gone before us with the sign of faith and who rest in the sleep of peace," follow these words, which are very similar to the words in the Diptychs of the Mozarabic Liturgy : "With all who through the whole would offer the spiritual sacrifice to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; which our holy and venerable priests,

offer for themselves and those belonging to them : for the assembly of Thy whole Catholic Church : and for the commemoration of the venerable patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and also of all saints, that they may be counted worthy to pray the Lord our God for us."

(e) A litany to the saints with the "ora pro nobis" follows, which, in this place, is, I believe, quite unique.¹

(f) A prayer of S. Ambrose follows. This is another of the same character as those termed an apology for the priest. It is a confession of sin and petition for pardon. It is quite out of place here and should come much earlier.

(g) After this prayer is a recitation of a long list of names of saints of the Old and New Covenant, from Abel down to Celtic saints of the eighth century; ending with a prayer they may have light and peace.

(h) The "nobis quoque" is the same as the Roman, excepting that the names of the saints are different.

(i) The Commixture occurs next. There is an Irish rubric, which Mr Warren translates: "Here the Oblation is lifted over the Chalice and half of the bread is dipped in the Chalice," while this is sung thrice: "Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us, as we will hope in Thee."

(j) The Fraction² follows, "here the bread is

¹ Scudamore suggests that the "ora pro nobis" was of later introduction, and that originally the names of the saints were inscribed merely for commemoration as in other Liturgies.

² Bishop Dowden says in his "Celtic Church in Scotland," p. 234: "In the Irish tract of the Stowe Missal we find most elaborate directions for the fraction, and the placing of the particles in a

broken," and the priest says: "They knew the Lord, Alleluia, in the breaking of bread. Alleluia." Then is said: "The bread which we break is the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ. Alleluia. The cup which we bless, Alleluia, is the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, Alleluia, for remission of our sins. Alleluia." Again: "Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us, Alleluia, as we have hoped in Thee. Alleluia. They knew the Lord. Alleluia." We believe, O Lord, we believe that we were redeemed by this breaking of Thy Body and effusion of Thy Blood, and we trust that, defended by the participation of this Sacrament, we, in the meantime, holding fast and waiting in hope, may hereafter enjoy the true divine and heavenly fruits."

(k) The Preface to the Our Father and the Em-

cruciform shape upon the paten, together with explanations of the symbolism. We find nothing exactly like it in any known missal, but features resembling it may be found in the Eastern and the Spanish Liturgies. It would seem that the cross thus made was to be surrounded at Easter with a circle—"circuit wheel"—of other portions, and Dr MacCarthy reminds us, in this connection, of the familiar form of Celtic monumental crosses. And it is minutely prescribed from which portions of this figure various classes of persons were to be communicated. Thus, if we may follow the guidance of Dr MacCarthy, the celebrant communicated himself with the portion in the centre of the cross; bishops were communicated with portions from the upper part of the shaft; priests from the left arm of the cross; the clergy below the rank of priests from the right arm; anchorites from the lower part of the shaft; "clerical students" from the upper left quadrant of the surrounding circle; "innocent youths" from the upper right quadrant; "penitents" from the lower left quadrant; married persons and first communicants from the lower right quadrant. Not less artificial is the regulation of the various numbers of the portions, which, according to this Irish tract, were to be consecrated on various occasions; and not less fanciful the

bolismus are much the same as in the Roman Canon.

XXI. The Pax, in these words: "The peace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Communion of all saints be ever with us," is now given, much as in the Mozarabic, only in a different place: there it is before the *Sursum Corda*, here it is as in the Roman.

XXII. This prayer follows: "Thou hast commanded peace, Thou hast given peace, Thou has left peace: give the peace, O Lord, to us from Heaven, and dispose this day and all the days of our life in Thy peace. Through," &c.

XXIII. The prayer of the commixture: "May the commixture of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us health unto life eternal."

reasons assigned for these numbers. Thus, five for ordinary days, "in figure of the five senses"; seven on the festivals of saints and virgins (except the chief), "in figure of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit"; eight for martyrs, "in figure of the octonary of the New Testament" (*i.e.*, the four Gospels, Acts, Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse); nine on the Lord's Day, "in figure of the nine folks of Heaven, and of the nine grades of the Church"; eleven for the Apostles, "in figure of the imperfect number of the Apostles after the scandal of Judas"; twelve on the day of the commemoration of the Last Supper, "in remembrance of the perfect number of the Apostles"; thirteen on little Easter [Low Sunday] and on the Feast of the Ascension, in figure of Christ with the Twelve, and (as is worth observing in explanation of how an uncertain number of communicants was to be dealt with) this is added "At first, they are to be distributed more minutely in going to Communion." "The five, and the seven, and the eight, and the nine, and the eleven, and the twelve, and the thirteen—they are five [and] sixty together, and that is the number of parts which is wont to be in the Host of Easter, and of the Nativity, and of Pentecost; for all that is contained in Christ."

XXIV. The Ecce Agnus Dei (said twice) is followed by: "Peace I give you. Alleluia. Much peace to them who love Thy law. Alleluia. And they are not offended at it. Alleluia. King of Heaven with peace. Alleluia. Full of the fragrance of life. Alleluia. Sing a new song. Alleluia. Come all ye saints. Alleluia. Come, eat of My Bread. Alleluia. And drink the Wine which I have mingled for you all. Alleluia. The Lord will rule me: he who eateth My Body and drinketh My Blood. Alleluia. The same shall abide in Me and I in him. Alleluia. The earth is the Lord's: this is the Living Bread which came down from Heaven. Alleluia. He who eateth of This shall live for ever. Alleluia. To thee, O Lord, have I lifted up my soul: the Lord gave them Bread from Heaven. Alleluia. Man did eat angels' food. Alleluia. Judge me, O Lord: eat, My friends. Alleluia. And drink abundantly, dearly beloved. Alleluia. This Sacred Body and Blood of the Lord, our Saviour. Alleluia. Take It to you for life eternal. Alleluia. I will bless the Lord at all times. Alleluia. His praise shall ever be in my mouth. Alleluia. Taste and see, Alleluia, how gracious the Lord is. Alleluia. Wherever I shall be, Alleluia, there shall My servant be. Alleluia. Suffer little children to come to Me, Alleluia, and forbid them not, Alleluia, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. Alleluia. Repent ye, Alleluia, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Alleluia. The Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, Alleluia, and the violent take it by force. Alleluia. Come ye blessed of My Father, Alleluia, possess the Kingdom, Alleluia, pre-

pared for you from the foundation of the world. Alleluia. Glory be, &c. Come, ye blessed . . . as it was, &c. Come."

This is from
"Consum-
matio
Missæ."

XXV. The Communion; and afterwards these prayers: "Grant, O Lord, that we whom Thou dost feast with the Heavenly Gifts may be cleansed from our secret sins and may be delivered from the snares of the enemy," and "We give thanks to Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty Eternal God, Who dost satisfy us with the Communion of the Body and Blood of Thy Christ: and we humbly entreat Thy mercy, O Lord, that this Sacrament may not be to us guilt to our condemnation, but an efficacious (*salutaris*) intercession for pardon: may it be for the cleansing away of sins; may it be for strength to the weak; may it be a stay (*firmamentum*) against the perils of the world; may this Communion cleanse us from sin and make us partakers of heavenly joys. Through," &c.

BOOK OF DEER.

The other Liturgical relic which I will notice is one specially interesting to Scottish Churchmen.

The *Book of Deer* was published by the Spalding Club in 1869, under the editorship of Dr John Stuart, and contains a portion of the Service for the Communion of the Sick, written before the year 1130 on a vacant space in the book.

I. There is first a prayer which is a Preface to the Lord's Prayer, and followed by an Embolismus, which is very similar to those in the Gallican Liturgy.

II. That is followed by a rubric: "Here give the Sacrifice to him," *i.e.*, the Sacrament. It is noticeable that the word Sacrifice is here used for Sacrament.

III. In giving the Blessed Sacrament the priest says: "The Body, with the Blood, of our Lord Jesus Christ be to thee perpetual health and life eternal." Then afterwards: "Refreshed by the Body and Blood of Christ let us ever sing to Thee, O Lord. Alleluia. Alleluia. Because He has satisfied the empty soul and filled the hungry soul with goodness. Alleluia. Alleluia. We offer the Sacrifice of praise with exultation. Alleluia. Alleluia. I will receive the Cup of Salvation and call upon the Name of the Lord. Alleluia. Alleluia. Refreshed with the Body of Christ. Alleluia. Alleluia. Praise the Lord all ye nations. Alleluia. Alleluia."

IV. Then the "Gloria" follows, and after it "Refreshed of Christ," &c., and similar acts of thanksgiving.

V. At the close of the MS. is the Apostles' Creed. Mr Warren says: "No other MS. Liturgical remains, known to exist in Scotland, are connected with the Scoto-Celtic-Church."

ANTIPHONARY OF BANGOR.

This interesting and valuable relic of the Celtic Liturgical use is edited in an elaborate style, and with copious and learned notes by Rev. F. E. Warren, and forms a part of the publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society. It has been preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, having been first carried for

safety to the Monastery of Bobbio. The Abbé Duchesne says: "It is absolutely exempt from all Roman influence. It contains some very valuable Liturgical portions; but the larger part of the book is taken up with Anthems and Antiphons, Canticles, Hymns, and Collects which belong to the Divine Office or Breviary. There is among the hymns one entitled "A hymn when priests communicate." This has been translated by Dr Neale, and is contained in "Ancient and Modern" and other English Hymnals. The Antiphonary contains the following Liturgical parts:—

I. The Kiss of Peace, accompanied by two anthems and two collects. According to Mr Warren, these belonged rather to the morning and evening Office than to the Liturgy. But, doubtless, this usage had place in the Liturgy.

II. The Creed in a peculiar form, unlike, as Mr Warren says, all others known to exist. It begins thus: "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Invisible Maker of all creatures visible and invisible.

"I believe in Jesus Christ, His Only Son, our Lord, God Almighty, conceived by the Holy Ghost," &c., as in the usual text, till the eighth article: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, God Almighty, having one substance with the Father and the Son: that there is a Holy Catholic Church," after "the resurrection of, the flesh: I believe the life after death, and life eternal in the Glory of Christ. I believe all these things in God."

III. The Our Father is called the Divine Prayer, and is without Preface or Embolismus.

IV. There are many collects for all times and

seasons and for various conditions of men, which were said after Hymns, Psalms, and Canticles, with numerous Antiphons and portions of the Gospel. These mostly belong to the Divine Office. Among the Canticles is the Benedicite, with the refrain at the end of each verse: "Praise Him and magnify Him for ever." There is this slight difference of reading, "Hymnum dicite et," &c. There are many forms of the Anthem known as "Ad Communionem," the "Communio" of the Roman and Mozarabic, and the "Transitorium" of the Ambrosian, rites.

V. The Gloria in Excelsis as in the Eastern rites, and our Scottish Liturgy; with this peculiarity, that after "O Lord, the Only Begotten Son, Holy Spirit of God," these words are added: "And we all say, Amen." The hymn is directed to be used also at Matins and Vespers.

The *Book of Dimma*, another Irish fragment, was written in a Book of the Gospels, and dates from the seventh century. It is a Mass for the sick.

I. There is an exhortation to pray for the sick brother, for the solace of pain, and for his healing by heavenly medicines; and that He Who gave life may give health.

II. Then follow six collects.

III. The Epistle consists of a few verses from I Cor. xv.

IV. The Gospel is taken from S. Matthew xxii. 23-33.

V. The sick man is instructed to make acts of faith in the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity (separately), in the life after death, and in the resur-

rection. This Creed is introduced by a short exhortation similar to the Preface to the Our Father in the Roman Liturgy. This is the only instance of a Preface in this place. Portions only of the Creed are given, and these are from that of the Apostles.

VI. The Unction then follows in this form: "I anoint thee with holy oil, in the Name of the Trinity, that thou mayest have health for ever and ever."

VII. This curious rubric follows: "The sick man says, if he is able, and if not the priest in his stead sings," the following Preface to the Our Father: "Acknowledge, O Lord, the words which Thou hast taught, overlook the boldness which Thou hast commanded, it is our ignorance not to know what is truly good, it is of our disobedience that we keep not Thy precept by which Thou hast commanded us to say Our Father."

The Embolismus is simpler than that of the Stowe Missal and similar to the Gallican.

VIII. The Pax is given after these words are said: "The peace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ be ever with us," and after it is given: "The peace and fellowship of Thy saints, O Christ Jesus, be ever with us."

IX. The words of administration are: "The Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, preserve Thy soul to life eternal."

X. After Communion there is a short thanksgiving.

XI. There follow short exclamations of prayer and praise similar, though fewer in number, to those in the Stowe Missal.

SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ROMAN AND CELTIC.

The main differences between the Roman and Celtic Churches were:—

I. The calculation of Easter.

II. Baptism. The difference is referred to by S. Augustine in his conference with the British Bishops. This difference must have consisted in the fact that single immersion was sometimes though not always used. It was the custom in the whole diocese of S. Malo in Brittany up to 620, and it prevailed in the sixth century in Spain. It is left optional in the three extant "*Ordines Baptismi*" of the Ancient Gallican Church, while a rubric directing trine immersion is contained in the earliest "*Ordines Romani*." Trine immersion, with the alternative of aspersion, is ordered in the earliest extant Irish Baptismal Office, in the composition of which, however, Roman influence is strongly marked.

III. The consecration of bishops by a single bishop. There were several variations in the ritual form of Ordination.

IV. The Lessons of Scripture used in the British Ordinal differed from those in other Western Ordinals.

V. The Liturgy and ritual of the Mass as already stated.

NOTES ON THE CELTIC CHURCHES.

I. The churches were sometimes, at a very early date, constructed of earth, but more commonly of wood; yet stone buildings, though not common, were

by no means unknown throughout this period. Perhaps one of the earliest was S. Ninian's at Candida Casa, 400 A.D., which was a stone structure.

II. Screens. There appear to have been in early Celtic Churches a substantial screen with doors, separating the chancel from the nave, similar to the Iconostasis of the Eastern Church.

III. It is probable that British Churches had, in some cases, more than one altar, from certain expressions of Gildas, such as "*inter altaria*," "*inter ipsa sacro-sancta altaria*." It was sometimes made of wood, sometimes of stone.

IV. A peculiar feature of the Celtic Liturgy, at least in its Irish form, was the multiplicity of Collects. In this it resembles the Gelasian Sacramentary, which, as we have seen, contained many Gallican features.

V. The Episcopal Benediction, which in the Mozarabic and Gallican Liturgies had also place in the Liturgy of the ancient British Church, and was perpetuated in the Sarum use.

VI. Prayers for the dead, as in all other Liturgies, after the manner of the Diptychs in the Gallican Liturgy.

VII. The Oblation and Offertory. The Oblations of Bread and Wine for the Eucharistic Service, and offerings of money, ornaments, and other precious gifts were made, in accordance with the general custom of the Gallican and Mozarabic Liturgies, just before the recitation from the Diptychs of the names of departed saints. S. Augustine seems to have found this custom in existence in England, for one of his first questions to S. Gregory was as to the proportion in which such alms and offerings were to be distributed.


VI.

THE SAXON LITURGIES.

Let us now turn to the consideration of the Roman Mission of S. Augustine and the Liturgy which he probably introduced into England. It is well known that S. Augustine found, to his astonishment, a Liturgy in use in Gaul different from the Roman. On referring the question to Pope Gregory what Liturgy he should use, he received the wise counsel that he should take the best of each, in these memorable words: "We ought not to love things for the sake of See Note 1. places, but places for the sake of things." How far the saint acted on this advice is unknown. He certainly did not introduce the Gallican Liturgy, but probably did introduce the Roman, modified somewhat by the Gallican. Gildas (sixth century) complained of the great divergence of the old British ritual from the Roman. If we refer to the Liturgies used during the Saxon period, for example, the Leofric and the Jumièges, we shall find that in all important parts they are the same as the Gregorian and Gelasian Sacramentaries. These two Missals, the Leofric and the Jumièges, have been recently published for the first time: the first by the Rev. F. E. Warren, Rector of Frenchay and late fellow of S. John's College, Oxford; the latter by the Rev. H. A. Wilson, of Magdalene College.

THE LEOFRIC MISSAL.

The Leofric Missal takes its title from Leofric, the first Bishop of Exeter, after the removal of the See from Crediton to that city. I will give a brief description of the Codex. At the beginning of the book there are "Missæ," *i.e.*, Collects, Secrets, Prefaces, and Post Communions, for the Wednesdays and Fridays of Lent; then follows a long list of relics of Martyrs and other Saints, a Mass of S. Michael, many and various forms of benediction: a great many Votive Masses for various estates and conditions. After these follow the Calendar and tables for the computation of the Sacred Seasons. The Missal proper commences with the Canon, which is the same as in the Roman Missal, and ends with the Agnus Dei. The Temporale commences with a Mass for the Vigil of the Nativity, followed by the three Masses for the Festival. The Masses for Advent and the Ember Days of that Season have place at the end of the Trinity Season. The Sunday immediately preceding Christmas Day is styled "Dominica Vacat": and the same name is given to the Second Sunday in Lent, which there follows the Ember Season. In the Services for Ash Wednesday there is an order for Public Penance, consisting of Psalms, Kyrie, Our Father, Suffrages, and Penitential Collects; and on Maundy Thursday there is an office of Reconciliation. The Episcopal Benediction before the Communion, which is a Gallican feature, has place in this Liturgy. On Good Friday there are the same prayers for all



conditions of men as those contained in the Roman Missal: and the same Lections and Collects on the Holy Sabbath. Easter Day is termed "*Dominica Sancta*": and during the Octave there is a prayer, with the title "*Ad fontes*," which contains a petition for the perseverance of the newly baptised; and this is followed, excepting on the last two days of the week, by a Collect, headed "*Ad Sanctum Andream*," but which contains no reference to S. Andrew, but a prayer for the bestowal of the full grace and virtue of the Paschal Season. The prayer "*Super populum*," or "*Ad populum*," is throughout the Octave termed "*Ad vesperam*," or "*Ad vespéros*." A number of Collects are added at the end of the Mass for the Octave, under the title of "*Other Paschal Prayers*." There is a Mass, styled "*Pascha Annotina*," which Mr Warren says "denoted the solemn and public renewal of their Baptismal Vows on the part of those who had been baptised at Easter tide in the preceding year." There is the same Mass in the same place in the Gelasian Sacramentary. On the Vigil of Pentecost there are Collects and Lections similar to those contained in the Roman rite, but still more closely resembling those in the Gelasian. The Sunday following Pentecost is named the Octave of Pentecost, and here also this Missal agrees with the Gelasian. The name of Trinity Sunday was given to it by Pope Alexander the Third in the twelfth century; and the Mass which is now provided for the day in the Roman Missal is found at the head of the Votive Masses in this Missal. The "*Missa Sanctorale*," both Proper and Common, follows in due order; and

among the Votive Masses which come next there is one entitled "*De Sancta Sapientia que Christus est.*" There are three special Masses for the Priest of a penitential character; others for the conferring of minor orders, as well as those of Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops; also for the Anointing and Communion of the Sick, and for the Dead. Various Benedictions are added, and among these of Candles, for Candlemas, and Palms, for Palm Sunday.

THE JUMIÈGES MISSAL.

This Missal takes its name from Robert, Abbot of the Monastery of Jumièges, and subsequently Bishop of London, and Archbishop of Canterbury, in the eleventh century. The Codex has been very carefully edited and published by Mr Wilson, with a very learned introduction, which exhibits certain details of difference and of likeness between it and the Gregorian and also the Leofric Missals. In fact, it so closely resembles the latter, that a detailed description of it would involve tedious repetition. It will suffice to note the more important variations.

In the Canon between the "*supplices Te rogamus*" and the "*Memento*" of the departed, there is a clause commencing with "*Memento mei*" which contains a prayer in behalf of the Celebrant himself, confessing his unworthiness, and praying that "*the Sacrifice offered to the praise and in memory of Jesus Christ may be as incense of a sweet savour in the presence of the Divine Majesty.*"

The Episcopal benediction, a Gallican feature, and one which, as we have seen, has place in the Leofric Missal, is not in the Jumièges. This may be accounted for on the ground that the Missal was written for use in a Monastery only.

There is an office for penitents on Ash Wednesday, and another for their reconciliation on Maundy Thursday, as in the Leofric; only the forms differ. There is a benediction of flesh meat on Easter day. On Easter eve there are offices for making Catechumens, for the benediction of the font, and for baptism, in which trine immersion is ordered; and as the newly baptised ascends from the font, the presbyter makes the sign of the Cross, with his thumb dipped in the Chrism, upon the forehead, and says this prayer: "Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hath regenerated thee by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath given thee remission of all thy sins, anoint thee with the Chrism of salvation to life eternal." He then clothes the newly baptised, saying: "Receive the white garment, pure and immaculate, and mayest thou wear it before the Judgment-seat of our Lord Jesus Christ; and mayest thou have eternal life, and live for ever and ever." The Priest then gives him a candle, saying: "Receive this lamp, and see that thou preserve the same unblameably, so that when the Lord shall come to the nuptial feast, thou mayest be able to meet Him, together with the Saints, in the heavenly hall unto eternal life."

There is a rubric directing that, if a Bishop is present, the newly baptised should, at the same time,

be confirmed, and be communicated with the Body and Blood of the Lord.

There are all kinds of Votive Masses and benedictions common to the Leofric as well as to the Roman Sacramentaries.

THE SARUM MISSAL.

We now pass to the consideration of the Sarum Missal, revised by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury (1085), and set forth for use in his diocese.

Mr Maskell, in his *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, observes that: "Whether from the known ability and earnestness of Osmund himself, whether from the fame of his new Cathedral and the body of learned Clergy which he had collected, or from whatever cause, this use of Sarum was very generally adopted in the south of England as well as in other parts of the country, and even, as it has been said, on the Continent." At the same time, there were other Liturgical uses which prevailed in their respective districts, viz., those of York, Bangor, Hereford, and Lincoln. The Sarum rite, however, became the prevailing use throughout England, and even in Scotland.

In examining this Missal, I will limit myself to the consideration of the invariable parts, viz., the Ordo and the Canon; and, while taking this Liturgy as the predominant English use, any variations which are found in the others will be noted.

Before the commencement of the Ordo there are

six prayers of preparation to be said by the Priest, "according to opportunity"; and also a form of private Confession and Absolution, if desired. The Priest, while putting on the Sacerdotal garments in the Vestry, says the *Veni Creator*, with the versicle and response: "*Emitte Spiritum Tuum*," &c., and "*et renovabis*," &c.; the Collect: "*O God to Whom all hearts be open*," &c.; the *xlili. Psalm*, with the Antiphon "*I will go unto the Altar of God*," &c.; the *Kyrie* said once; the "*Pater Noster*," and the "*Ave*." The Priest then says: "*Confess unto the Lord for He is gracious*," &c.; the *Confiteor* follows, and then "*Our help is in the Name of the Lord*," &c. The Priest kisses the Deacon, and afterwards the Sub-Deacon, saying: "*Receive the kiss of peace and love that ye may be fitted to perform the Divine offices at the Most Holy Altar*." The light-bearers put down their candlesticks, holding wax candles, on the Altar step. Then the Priest ascends to the Altar, and says, silently, the Collect, "*Aufer a nobis*"; the prayer which in the present Roman rite follows it, viz., that "*by the merits of the Saints whose relics are here*" (that is in or under the Altar) is not found in either of the English uses.¹

¹ The York use orders the washing of hands in the Sacristy while this prayer is said: "*O Almighty Father, bestow Thine abundant grace upon our senses, that as by this water all the stains of our hands are washed away, so by Thee all the pollutions of our minds may be cleansed, and the increase of holy virtues may grow within us*." The same use has the Collect, "*Prevent us*," &c., which is in the Hereford use, and has also this Collect, "*Incline Thy merciful ears*," &c.

The Hereford use has a succession of versicles and responses to be said as the Priest ascends to the Altar.

After this the Priest kisses the middle of the Altar, and, signing himself on the face, says: "In Nomine," &c. Incense is used, accompanied with the benediction: "May it be blessed by Him in Whose honour it shall be burned." The "Office," or Introit, comes next, followed by the Kyrie, then the "Gloria in Excelsis" and the Collect or Collects. If more than one is said, the number should always be unequal, but never more than seven; and all should be concluded with one "Per Dominum."¹

The Gradual, Alleluia, Sequence, or Tract, are sung by the Choir between the Epistle and Gospel; and during this time one of the light-bearers takes "bread and wine and water with the Chalice for the ministration of the Eucharist." The Deacon, before he reads the Gospel, seeks a blessing from the Priest, which is given in this manner: "The Lord be in thy heart and on thy mouth, that thou mayest proclaim the Holy Gospel of God."² As soon as the Gospel is ended the Creed is said or sung, and is followed by the "Offertorium," consisting of a verse or verses, said or sung, while the Oblation of bread and wine is made. Originally, when all the people offered separ-

¹ In the York Missal these mystical meanings are given: "One is said because of the Sacrament of Unity, three after the example of the Lord, Who is related to have prayed three times before His Passion, five because of the five wounds, seven to obtain the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost."

² In the York use, the benediction is given in these words: "The Lord open thy mouth to read, and our ears to understand the Holy Gospel of the God of Peace." In the same use, this prayer is ordered to be said by the Deacon: "Give to my mouth, O Lord, a clear and well-sounding utterance, that my words may be pleasing to Thee and to all who hear, for Thy Name's Sake, to life eternal."

ately, a whole Psalm was said or sung. After this the Deacon presents to the Priest the Chalice "with the Paten and Sacrifice," and the Priest, taking the Chalice in both hands, elevates it, thus offering the sacrifice to God while he says this prayer: "Receive, O Holy Trinity, this Oblation which I, an unworthy sinner, offer to Thine honour, and of the Blessed Mary, and of all Thy Saints, for my sins and offences; for the salvation of the living, and the rest of all the faithful departed," in *Nomine*, &c.¹

At the Offering, incense is again used. Then we have the *Lavabo*, while the Priest says: "Cleanse me, O Lord, from all defilements of mind and body, that being cleansed, I may be able to fulfil the holy work of the Lord." He returns to the Altar and says a prayer for the acceptance of the worshippers and of the Sacrifice which they offer; and again repeats the "In *Nomine*." The "*Orate fratres*" has the addition of "*sorores*"; and the people's response, differing from the Roman Liturgy, is: "May the grace of the Holy Spirit enlighten thine heart and thy lips, and may

No Psalm is
said.

¹ These words: "To Thine honour, and of the Blessed Mary, and of all Thy Saints" are not in the corresponding prayer of the York, Hereford, or Roman use. In the York use there is a separate offering of the Chalice with wine and water. The Hereford has this prayer: "Holy Trinity, accept this oblation, which I offer to Thee in memorial of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and vouchsafe that it may ascend with favour before Thee, and may avail for mine own salvation and of all the faithful." After this the Priest says the "*Veni Creator*," with its versicle and response: and also this prayer, "Inflame, O Lord, our reins and our heart with the fire of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may serve Thee in a chaste body and please Thee with a pure heart." The response to the "*Orate fratres*" is given in the first three verses of the *xx.* Psalm.

the Lord graciously accept from thine hands this Sacrifice of praise, for our sins and offences." The prayers known as "*Secretæ*" are now said, and "correspond to the number and order of the Collects before the Epistle." Then the "*Dominus Vobiscum*," "*Sursum Corda*," Preface, and "*Ter-Sanctus*"¹ follow. There are the same number of Prefaces as in the Roman use. At this point the Sub-Deacon takes the Paten, covered with the "*Offertorium*," *i.e.*, a large linen or silk cloth, and holds it until the Embolismus is said. The Canon is the same as in the Roman Missal, and is said "*secreto*," or in a subdued tone. Mr Maskell quotes from Cardinal Bona; who, referring to the fact that in the Greek Church the Liturgy is said in a loud voice, observes: "Formerly the Western Church used the same mode, for all heard the most sacred and efficacious words by which the Body of the Lord is made"; and he adds that "no change in this respect was made until the tenth century." At the end of the Canon there are, the "*Pater Noster*," with its Preface and Embolismus, the Pax, the Fraction with the Commixture (in which the word "*consecratio*" is not found). The "*Agnus Dei*" comes before, whereas in the Roman rite it follows after, the Commixture, and is said by the Deacon and Sub-Deacon privately. Before the kiss of Peace is given this prayer is said by the Priest: "O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Eternal God, grant to me so worthily to receive the

See Part II.
p. 43.

¹ The Hereford Missal interpolates the following prayer between the "*Sanctus*" and the "*Canon*": "We adore Thee, O Christ, and we bless Thee, because by Thy Holy Cross Thou hast redeemed the world. Thou, Who hast suffered for us,—have mercy upon us."

Most Holy Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ that I may thereby be counted worthy to receive remission of all my sins, and to be filled with Thy Holy Spirit and possess Thy Peace; because Thou art God, and there is none else beside Thee, Whose glorious Kingdom endureth for ever and ever." The Pax¹ is given thus: "Peace to thee, and to the Church." Here, if a Bishop is present, the Episcopal benediction is given. After the Pax, and before the Communion, there is this prayer: "God the Father, the Fountain and Source of all goodness, Who, moved by compassion, hast willed that Thine Only Begotten Son should for us descend into the lowest parts of the world and take our flesh, which I, unworthy, hold in my hands" (here the Priest inclines humbly towards the Host, saying): "I adore Thee, I glorify Thee, I praise Thee with all my heart, and pray that Thou wouldest not depart from us Thy servants, but forgive us our sins, so that we may be accounted worthy, with pure heart and chaste body, to serve Thee, the only living and true God."

There are other preparatory prayers similar to those in the Roman use.² Immediately before receiv-

¹ In the York and Hereford uses the Pax is given in these words: "Possess the bond of peace and charity that you may be fitted for the most holy mysteries"; and the Hereford adds: "The peace of Christ, and of the Holy Church,—be with you and all the children the Church."

² In the York and Hereford uses the form used in receiving the Sacrament of the Body is: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve me to life everlasting." The York use adds these words: "May the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my body and soul unto life everlasting."

The Bangor Missal directs the Priest to "meditate in his heart

ing the Body of the Lord the Priest says, "with the deepest humility": "Hail for ever, most Holy Flesh of Christ, to me, before and above all others, the Highest Sweetness! May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ be to me, a sinner, the Way and the Life." Having said again "In Nomine," he receives the Body. The "Non sum dignus" is not in any of the English rites. Before he receives the precious Blood, he says, "with great devotion": "Hail for ever, Heavenly Drink, to me before and above all others, the Highest Sweetness! May the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be profitable to me a sinner for an eternal remedy unto everlasting life," "In Nomine," &c. A Thanksgiving prayer follows. The Ablutions are taken with wine and water, and prayers very similar to those contained in the Roman Missal. The Priest, placing the Paten upon the Chalice, and bowing down, says: "Let us adore the sign of the Cross, through which we have received the Sacrament of Salvation." He then washes his hands,

('intime') on the Incarnation, the Love, the Passion, and the awful Death of Jesus Christ, which of His Own Will He suffered for us; and thus, with great reverence, let him take the Body and Blood of Christ."

In the Hereford there is a prayer to be said by the Priest, just before his Communion, containing a thanksgiving for souls in bliss, and a petition that aid may be given through their intercession; and another for those "who are still in a place of purification ('adhuc sunt in purgatoriis locis'), that through this most holy Sacrifice their pain may be mitigated and shortened; and for ourselves, who are still oppressed with the burden of flesh and blood, to Thee, the Father, we offer the Son, beseeching Thee that the sins that we have contracted from flesh and blood may be cleansed by the Flesh and washed out by the Blood of Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ."

and says, privately with his ministers, the "Communio." After this he makes the sign of the Cross, and, turning to the people with his hands joined, says: "Dominus vobiscum," and again turning to the Altar adds: "Oremus," and the "Post Communio." The people are then dismissed with the "Benedicamus Domino," or the "Ite missa est." After this dismissal, the Celebrant says secretly a prayer for the acceptance of the Sacrifice, "and that it may be profitable to himself and all for whom he has offered it." ^{"Placeat Tibi."} In returning to the Sacristy, he recites the first fourteen verses of the first chapter of S. John's Gospel; and in the Sacristy he says the "Benedicite" and Psalm CL., with Antiphon, and "Nunc dimittis."

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

I will now summarise the main features which are common to all Liturgies; and point out the chief points of difference.

In all there are two chief divisions under different names, the "Pro-anaphora" and the "Anaphora" of the Eastern Liturgies, and the "Ordo" and the "Canon" of the Western.

These divisions are, in Western Liturgies, also known by the terms "*Missa Catechumenorum*" and "*Missa Fidelium*."

The term "*Missa*" denotes dismissal, in the one case of the Catechumens, in the other of the Faithful. The Greek word "*Anaphora*" signifies Sacrifice, and is applied to that portion of the Liturgy in which the great Christian Sacrifice is formally offered. The Anaphora or Canon usually commenced at the "*Sursum Corda*," and included the Consecration, the Sacred Oblation, and the great Intercession. There are, however, variations. The present Roman Liturgy begins the Canon immediately after the "*Ter-sanctus*." It is difficult to say where the Canon begins in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, but I think that, in a wide Liturgical sense, it may be considered to commence with the "*Præfatio Missæ*" of the Gallican and the "*Missa*," or "bidding prayer," of the Mozarabic.

1. In the West, the Liturgy opens with the "Introit," sometimes called the "Office," or "Antiphon"; in the Ambrosian, the "Ingressa." This, however, is not always found in the Eastern Liturgies; but in those of Constantinople (S. Basil's and S. Chrysostom's) there are three Antiphons with accompanying prayers.

2. The "Kyrie eleison" is common to all, but in the Eastern and the Ambrosian Liturgies the "Christe eleison" is not found.

3. The "Gloria in excelsis" is in all Liturgies: in the earliest it consists only of the brief form given in the Gospel narratives; while in the extended forms there are verbal differences between the Eastern and Western rites.

4. The Lections. In the Eastern, and in the oldest Western forms, there are three, viz., the Prophecy, a Lesson from the Old Testament, as well as the Epistle (sometimes called the "Apostle"), and the Gospel. The three are still retained in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites. In the Coptic and Ethiopian rites there are four.

5. We find the use of Incense in all Liturgies.

See Part I.
pp. 106, 112.

6. The first Oblation of the bread and wine, sometimes called the "Offertory," because while it was being offered the verse known as the "Offertorium" was sung or said. In the Eastern Liturgies this offering was made in the office of the "Prothesis," or at the "Great Entrance."

7. The "Osculum Pacis" was in all Liturgies, but not always in the same place.

8. The "Sursum Corda," the "Ter-sanctus" (in

Eastern rites termed the "Triumphal Hymn"), with the "Benedictus qui venit," are found in all Liturgies.

9. The Consecration prayer, including (a) the recital of Christ's words of Institution, (b) the solemn Oblation, (c) a prayer that the Offering may be made the Body and Blood of Christ. In all Eastern Liturgies this prayer was known as the "Epiclesis," and contained a solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost to descend upon the Sacrifice. The Great Intercession has always place in union with the Sacrifice.

10. A Commemoration of the Saints, and prayers for the faithful departed, have place in all.

11. The "Our Father," preceded by a Preface, and followed by the Embolismus, is common to all Liturgies. In some the Preface varies with the festival, in others it is always the same.

12. The "Fraction" and the "Commixture" are in all. In Eastern Liturgies there is also the "Intinction."

13. The "Elevation," accompanied by adoration, is another common feature. In the Eastern and Mozarabic Liturgies the Elevation is made at the "Sancta Sanctis."

14. The Communion of Priest and people, with prayers of preparation and thanksgiving, are common to all.

15. The Solemn Dismissal was given in various forms.

I submit that these points of close correspondence, and in some cases of identity, establish a substantial agreement among all Liturgies. But, together with this close likeness, there are variations of minor importance.

In the "Pro-anaphora" of Eastern Liturgies there are, in addition to those parts contained in the Roman "Ordo," litanies, bidding-prayers, and other intercessions; the "Trisagion" and the "Cherubic Hymn"; the "Little" and the "Great" Entrance at the bringing in of the Gospel and of the Elements. In the Mozarabic and Gallican uses, there are bidding-prayers, intercessions for the Living and the Dead (as in the Diptychs) and Commemoration of the Saints, before the "Ter-sanctus," and, for the most part, after the first Oblation. But in the Roman Missal there are no intercessions, until we reach the Canon; and it is in this portion of the Liturgy that the chief differences are found. In the Eastern Liturgies there is, at the commencement of the "Anaphora," a long rehearsal of the Creation of the World, of the Fall of Man, and Redemption by Jesus Christ; while, in the corresponding portion of the Roman Liturgy, there is nothing of this. The "Canon" commences with the prayers: (*a*) for the acceptance and benediction of the Sacrifice; (*b*) for the Pope, the Bishop, and all orthodox Christians; (*c*) for all present, especially those who bring offerings; (*d*) there is a Commemoration of the Saints, Apostles, and Martyrs; (*e*) prayers for peace, the acceptance of service, and the deliverance of the worshippers from eternal damnation; (*f*) another prayer for the benediction of the offering, and that it may be made, to those who receive it ("fiat nobis"), the Body and Blood of Christ. Much of all this belongs, according to the older rites, to the first Oblation, or the Offertory.

The words of Institution in the Roman use differ,

by way of addition, from those contained in the Gospels and in other Liturgies. There is no "Epiclesis," or Invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the gifts, as contained in all Eastern Liturgies. In the Eastern and the assimilated Gallican Liturgies there are fuller and more numerous acts of thanksgiving and praise than in the Roman.

These variations afford an illustration of the difference between the Eastern and the Western mind, but they present no variation in belief or teaching.

The only point which could be construed into a difference of belief is the theory of the Consecration. I refer to two theories which are now prevalent among Western Catholics. One that the Consecration is effected by the recitation of Christ's Words used at the Institution, together with the Invocation of the Holy Ghost; the words and the prayer being taken together as the means by which the Consecration is completed. The other theory is, that Christ's Words recited over the elements are the sole means by which they are made the Body and Blood of Christ. I have endeavoured elsewhere to show by a consensus of Liturgical authorities and of Ecclesiastical writers that this theory was unknown in the Church for a thousand years; that all ancient Liturgies contained distinct evidence against it; that even the Roman does not endorse it; and that it was the invention of the schoolmen in the twelfth century. But even this difference presents a variation of belief, not in the fact of the Real Presence, but only as to the means by which the mystery is brought about.

The Catholic
Theory of
Conse-
cration.

The belief in the fact that Christ, God and Man, is really and objectively present in the Eucharist, underlies the whole structure of the Liturgies, and is implied in every part. Therein is exhibited to us, no offering of mere bread and wine, no communication simply of grace and benediction from the Death and Sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Therein is set forth no impersonal presence of a divided Christ, but the "Totus Christus,"—God and Man. This belief supplies the rationale of the whole service. If you take this away the Liturgies become, if not irrational, at least entirely inexplicable. They may be studied as monuments of antiquarian interest, but not as possessing any intelligible conception or purpose. The belief that our Lord Jesus Christ is personally present gives to the Liturgical forms their great beauty and reality, and gathers round them the most profound love and devotion.¹

I now proceed to give, from various Liturgies, a few examples of the truth of these statements; and if, in doing so, I repeat to some extent what has already been said, I must throw myself on the reader's indulgence.

I. In S. James' Liturgy, after the words of Insti-

¹ When certain Anglican writers contend, that since the Early Fathers teach the Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist, without specific mention of His Soul and Divinity, therefore they did not believe in the Presence as Personal and to be worshipped, they betray a singular ignorance of the belief of the Early Church and of the Primitive Liturgies. Only a Nestorian could affirm that the Lord's Humanity can exist apart from His Divine Personality. An Appollinarian alone could maintain a Presence (except in the article of death) of His Body and Blood separate from His Human Soul.

tution have been said over each Species, the people say Amen, and the Deacon adds: "We believe and confess"; and in the Act of reverence called the bowing down of the head, "Let us bow down our heads," the Priest adds: "To Thee, O Lord, we have bowed our necks before the Holy Altar." When the Commixture is made, these words are said: "The union of the Most Holy Body and Precious Blood of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ"; then, signing the Consecrated Bread, the Priest adds: "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world"; and breaking a portion and placing it in the Chalice, he says: "A Holy portion of Christ, full of grace and truth." Before the Communion the Priest exclaims: "O taste and see that the Lord is gracious; He That is broken and not divided, distributed to the faithful, and not consumed."

II. The Syriac Liturgy has these words in the "Pro-anaphora": "He Whom Moses saw in the bush, Ezekiel in the chariot, Himself is placed upon the Holy Altar, and the people receive Him and live. Behold, He Whom the Cherubim and Seraphim worship with great fear, is offered upon the Holy Altar."

III. In S. Chrysostom's Liturgy we have words which plainly express the Church's belief that even in death our Lord's Divinity was not separated from His Body in the grave, any more than it was from His Soul in Hades: "In the grave bodily, in Hades spiritually, as God wast Thou, O Christ, with the Father and the Holy Ghost." Between the Words of Institution and the "Epiclesis" both the Priest and

the Deacon adore thrice before the holy Altar, saying: "God be merciful to me a sinner."

IV. In the Armenian there is this prayer: "Thou Who sittest with the Father, and art here offered, deign to give us of Thy Immaculate Body and of Thy Precious Blood." Again: "Christ, the Lamb of God, is offered in Sacrifice."

V. The Coptic Liturgy of S. Basil has these words following the "*Sancta sanctis*"; the Priest, holding the Blessed Sacrament in his hand, says: "I believe, I believe, I believe, and confess until the latest breath of my life that this is the life-giving Body of Thine Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, Which He took of our Lady S. Mary and made it one with His Divinity, without confusion, commixture, or alteration I verily believe that His Divinity was never separated from His Humanity, not even for an hour, or the twinkling of an eye."

The Ethiopic Liturgy has an almost identical confession: "I believe, I believe, I believe, that the Deity was not divided from the Manhood, for an hour, or even the twinkling of an eye."

The Western Liturgies entirely accord with the Eastern in this matter. The Roman Missal orders that the Priest should genuflect and adore at the Consecration of each Species, and that he should elevate and exhibit the Blessed Sacrament in both kinds to the people. In the Sarum, the Priest, holding the Blessed Sacrament in his hand, and bowing down, says: "Thee I adore, Thee I glorify, Thee I praise with all my heart."

Another prominent, and I venture to say the main,

or the
meaning of
the title
"Liturgy,"
see Part I.
p. 1 and 2.

feature of the Eucharist as set forth in the Liturgies, is its Sacrificial character. From this feature it derives the names of "Sacrificium Eucharisticum" in the Latin rites, and in the Greek "Anaphora" and "Liturgy."

No one can study these Liturgies with ordinary care without seeing that the Central Act to which all the parts lead up is the great and solemn Oblation of the Consecrated Gifts as the Memorial of our Lord's Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension. This great Act gathers up all previous offerings, prayers, and praises, and presents them to God under the shadow of, and in union with, the Sacrifice of the Cross. So entirely is this the case that the term "Sacrifice" is often applied to the whole service, as signifying its main idea and purpose.

The pre-eminent importance and dignity belonging to the solemn Oblation of Christ's Body and Blood, is, I think, still further emphasised by the solemnity attached to the lesser Offering of the bread and wine at the Offertory. This Offering consists of mere bread and wine, and is made preparatory to the Consecration and the great Oblation, and derives its importance from this relation. It is only on this ground that we can account for the solemn ceremonial accompanying the Offering, as in the Great Entrance; or for the strong epithets and terms used in the prayers of benediction. Since so great solemnity, and prayers so strongly expressed, are used accompanying the lesser and preparatory offering, it naturally follows that the Great Oblation, towards which these are

see Part II.
pp. 59 to 63,
and for the
Eastern rites,
Part I. pp.
101, 105, and
11.


introductory and preparatory, is proportionately greater, more solemn, and august.

In all that I have said concerning the supreme importance which is given in Catholic Liturgies to the Sacrificial aspect and purpose of the Eucharist, I would not for one moment be supposed to depreciate the Communion use or purpose, or to judge it as of less value than the former. Considered in one point of view it is the greater, for it is the end (τέλος); it perfects the Sacrifice. The Sacrifice opens the way of approach to God by removing sin, and by providing an abundance of prayers, intercessions, praises, and thanksgivings. In Communion, the end of the Sacrifice is reached. The worshipper is made one with God; Christ dwells in him, and he in Christ; while, in the Chalice of Salvation, he drinks of the Living Waters springing up into everlasting life.

NOTES.

NOTE I.

The Abbé Duchesne is of opinion that a successor of S. Augustine, on the Throne of Canterbury, viz., Theodore, who was a Greek monk of Tarsus in Cilicia, consolidated the English Church, and settled its Liturgical use and usages. This is most probably true. But, when the learned writer tells us that the letter described, I believe by all writers on the subject from Bede downwards until now, as written by S. Gregory the Great to S. Augustine, is certainly unauthentic, he made a statement as surprising as, I venture to say, unsupported. Quoting the words "Things are not to be loved because of places, but places because of things," he says, "This sentiment witnesses an indifference in respect of rites, incompatible with the Roman spirit. . . . No Roman, above all no Pope, could have written it; but a man, such as Theodore, who, up to the time of his elevation to the Episcopate, had used the Greek rite, might, when called upon to judge in a conflict between two Latin rites, well have shown a spirit of impartiality. I should not be surprised if he were the author of the 'interrogations' of Augustine and the 'answers of Gregory.' He might, without being in the least a 'faussaire,' have found it useful to give in this form his ideas concerning discipline and Liturgy." The only apparent authority for so astonishing a theory is that this letter was not found in the Roman Archives when search was made by S. Boniface in 745. This surely is a slender point for doubting its authenticity, seeing that it is nothing very uncommon for documents of a higher value than this to be found wanting in such records; while the idea that the letter was written by Archbishop Theodore is one entirely evolved out of the learned Abbe's fertile imagination. The reason founded on acquaintance with the Greek rite would apply, in a degree, to S. Gregory, who,



for many years, resided in Constantinople as Apocrisarius of the Pope.

NOTE II.

The chief variations in these Liturgies from the Roman are :—

I. The “*Pascha Annotina*” which we have seen in the Gelasian rite.

II. An “*Ordo Agentibus Publicam Pœnitentiam*,” a penitential office for Ash Wednesday, and an order of reconciliation for Maundy Thursday.

III. The practice of communicating people as well as priests in both kinds (except on Good Friday). The consecrated contents of the Chalice being administered to the people through a tube, usually of silver.

IV. Sick or dying people were communicated in both kinds, not separately but conjointly by intinction.

V. The solemn rite of the Episcopal benediction after the Consecration and before the Communion, which, as we have seen, was a feature in all the Gallican Liturgies.

VI. Every greater festival and almost every minor holy day had its proper preface, another Gallican feature.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF

ROMAN.	AMBROSIAN.
Introit.	<p>"Ingressa" or Introit. Sundays in Lent, a Litany.</p> <p>Mutual salutation.</p>
Kyrie, thrice repeated.	
Gloria in Excelsis.	Gloria in Excelsis, as in the Roman Liturgy.
Salutation.	<p>Kyrie, three times, but no Christe Eleison.</p> <p>Prayers, salutation and response.</p>
Collect or Collects.	<p>Prayer "Super populum," one or more.</p> <p>"Dominus vobiscum" and response.</p> <p>Prophecy.</p> <p>Psalmellus, and verse.</p> <p>Silence enjoined.</p>
<p>EPISTLE.</p> <p>Gradual, Alleluia. Sequence, Tract.</p>	<p>EPISTLE,</p> <p>and after it the Alleluia and verse.</p>

WESTERN LITURGIES.

MOZARABIC.	GALLICAN.
"Officium" or Introit.	Antiphon, or Introit. Silence enjoined.
	Mutual salutation.
	"Agios," corresponding to Trisagion of the Greek.
Gloria in excelsis, except in Advent and Lent.	Kyrie by three Acolytes in unison.
	Prophecy, <i>i.e.</i> , Canticle of Zacharias.
Collect, or First Oratio.	"Collectio post prophetiam," viz.: Collect for the day.
Lecture from the Old Testament, and the mutual salutation before and after. Portions of the "Benedicite" on 1st Sunday in Lent.	Prophetic Lection, but on Saints' days a memoir of the life and passion of the Saint was substituted.
Psallendo, and preparation of the elements. In Lent, a Litany.	"Responsorius."
"Tradition of the Symbol," on Palm Sunday.	Song of the Three Children.
EPISTLE.	EPISTLE.
	Lections taken from the Acts of the Apostles, or from the Apocalypse during Eastertide. Silence enjoined.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF

ROMAN.	AMBROSIAN.
<p>Gospel, with preparatory prayer and blessing, and after it, "Praise be to Thee, O Christ."</p> <p>Creed. Salutation.</p> <p>"Oremus," but no prayer.</p>	<p>Gospel, with preparatory prayer and blessing. After the Gospel, mutual salutation. Kyries and "antiphon, after the Gospel."</p> <p>The deacon exclaims, "Pacem habete," and response follows.</p> <p>"Dominus vobiscum," etc. Prayer, "Super sindonem."</p>
<p>Offertorium.</p> <p>Secret prayers, at the First Oblation. Incense.</p>	<p>First Oblation, and secret prayers, varying from the Roman, for the acceptance and benediction of the offerings.</p>
<p>"Lavabo."</p>	<p>The Offertorium. Incense.</p> <p>Salutation. Creed.</p>

WESTERN LITURGIES—*continued.*

MOZARABIC.	GALLICAN.
<p>Gospel. "Lauds." Before each lection, a special benediction is given.</p>	<p>Gospel, with procession. Homily, or Sermon.</p>
<p>Dismissal of Catechumens.</p>	
	<p>"Prayer of the faithful," which consisted of a Litany said by the deacon.</p>
	<p>"Collectio, Post precem." Dismissal of the Catechumens. Praefatio Missæ.</p>
<p>First Oblation. While the "Sacrificium" or the "Offertorium" is sung the Priest asks the prayers of the people thus:—"Assist me, brethren, in your prayers, and pray for me to God."</p>	<p>First Oblation, accompanied by the "Offertorium," or by a verse called the "Sonum," while the "Sancta" is brought from the vestry to the Altar; and also the chalice and other sacred vessels.</p>
<p>The "Lavabo," and "In Nomine," etc.</p>	
<p>Preparatory prayer by the Priest.</p>	
<p>Salutation and a "bidding prayer," corresponding to the "Praefatio Missæ" of the Gallican Liturgy; the Agios follow, and then another prayer.</p>	<p>"Collect, Post nomina."</p>

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF

ROMAN.	AMBROSIAN.
The "Orate, fratres," and response.	Prayer known as "Super Oblata." Mutual salutation.
Sursum Corda.	Sursum Corda.
Preface, and Ter-Sanctus.	Preface, varying.
The Canon.	The Canon, with some variations from the Roman. Just before "Qui Pridie," the "Lavabo," silently.
Our Father, with unvarying preface and the Embolismus.	Fraction and Commixture while the "Confractorium" is sung. Our Father, with Preface and Embolismus.
The Pax.	The Pax.
Fraction and Commixture.	
Agnus Dei.	Agnus Dei, said only in Masses for the dead.

WESTERN LITURGIES—*continued.*

MOZARABIC.	GALLICAN.
Diptych.	The Pax.
Collect, "Post nomina." The prayer, "Ad pacem."	"Collect, Post pacem."
The Pax, followed by the Priest saying, "I will go to the Altar of God." "The God Who rejoiceth my youth." "Aures ad Dominum."	"Contestatio," "Illatio," or "Immolatio." Ter-Sanctus. Sursum Corda.
Ter-Sanctus. The "Illation." Agius repeated.	
The Post-Sanctus.	The prayer, "Post-Sanctus."
Prayer of Consecration. The Collect, "Post pridie." Elevation. Creed.	Canon not given, but the Roman is in Missale Francorum. "Post secreta," or "Post mysterium."
Fraction and Commixture.	The Fraction and Commixture.
Our Father, with Preface, Embolismus and responses. "Sancta Sanctis."	Our Father, with Preface and Embolismus.
Episcopal benediction.	Episcopal benediction, given sometimes by a Priest.
Acts of praise.	

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF

ROMAN.	AMBROSIAN.
Prayer for the peace of the Church: "Domine Jesu Christe."	Prayer for the peace of the Church: "Domine Jesu Christe."
Private prayers of the Priest before Communion.	Prayers by the Priest before and after his Communion.
Communion of Priest and people. The "Communio."	
"Post Communio." "The Ite, Missa est."	The "Transitorium" and Post Communion.
The prayer, "Placeat Tibi" and	Mutual salutation. The Kyrie.
Final blessing.	Final blessing and dismissal, "Procedamus cum pace."
First fourteen verses of S. John's Gospel.	"Benedicamus Domino." "Deo Gratias."

WESTERN LITURGIES—*continued.*

MOZARABIC.	GALLICAN.
Priests' Communion.	The Communion.
Memento for the dead, but no form given.	
Communion of the people, but no words given. "Communio."	
Post Communion Prayer.	Collectio post Communionem.
	"Consummatio Missæ."
Salutation and Versicles.	

GLOSSARY OF LITURGICAL TERMS.

A

Actio (Rom.). The Roman term for the Canon of the Mass.

"Ad Clausum Paschæ." The octave of Easter or Low Sunday.

"Ad Complendum." A prayer for communicants said by the priest at the end of the Mass.

"Ad Fontes." A prayer in the Leofric Missal, said during the octave of Easter, for the perseverance of those lately baptised.

"Ad Populum." A prayer for the people said by the priest at the end of the Mass.

Agape. The Love-Feast of the Early Church, originally preceding the Eucharist.

Agios (Gall.). Name for an anthem in the Gallican Liturgy, similar to the Trisagion of the Eastern Church.

Alleluia. An anthem which follows the Gradual.

Ambo. A raised desk placed in the choir, from which the Lections were read.

Ampulla. A vessel for holding the Consecrated Bread.

Amula. A small cruet in which the people made their offering of wine.

Anaphora (East.). That portion of the Liturgy which contains the Consecration, the Oblation, and Great Intercession.

Annotina. The name given to the Mass offered for those who had been baptised at Eastertide, in the previous year.

Antidoron. In the Greek Church, the bread which is blessed but not consecrated, and is given to those who do not communicate.

Antiphon. A verse, or verses, sung at the beginning of the Mass, answering to the Introit. In some Liturgies it was also sung after the Gospel, and known as the "Antiphon of the Gospel."

Antiphonal singing. Alternate singing—(i.) of the two sides, the *decani* and *cantoris*, of a choir; (ii.) of the men's voices and of boys' and women's voices.

Antiphonary. A book containing the Antiphons used in the Mass and in the Divine Office.

Apocrisarius. A legate of the pope.

Apologia (Sacerdotis). A prayer of penitence said by the priest before his Communion.

Atrium. A court at the west end of the church, from which doors opened into the narthex.

Aumbry. A cupboard in the wall in which the holy vessels were kept, and, in some churches, the Blessed Sacrament.

Aurium apertio. A service for Catechumens in preparation for Baptism.

B

Baldachino. A canopy over the altar supported by four pillars.

Basilica. The earliest form of a Christian Church, consisting of an apsidal Sanctuary (Bema), Choir and Nave.

Bema. The Sanctuary or Presbytery in the Roman Basilicas.

Benediction (Epis.). A blessing given by the Bishop after the "Our Father," and before the Communion, so that those who did not wish to communicate might depart.

'**Benedictus qui venit.**' The addition to the Ter-Sanctus found in all Liturgies.

C

Calix major. The larger chalice used in the Ordines Romani.

Cancelli. A screen separating the Sanctuary from the Choir.

Canon (Rom.). (*Vide* Anaphora.)

Capitulary. A code of ecclesiastical canons or royal laws.

Capsa. A case, sometimes shaped like a tower, containing the Fermentum or Sancta.

Catechumen. One under instruction, preparatory to baptism.

Catholica. The prayer in the Eastern Syrian Liturgy, said by the priest while the Fraction is made.

Catholicon (Copt). A Lection in the Coptic Liturgy taken from the Catholic Epistles.

Ceremoniale. A book of rubrical directions.

Cherubic Hymn. A hymn sung in the Eastern Liturgies at the Great Entrance.

Ciborium. (i.) A Baldachino. (ii.) A chalice, with a cover, for holding the Blessed Sacrament. (iii.) A receptacle for relics. (iv.) A pendant tabernacle, often in the form of a dove.

Cœnaculum. (i.) A refectory of a monastery. (ii.) The upper chamber of the Last Supper.

Collect. Originally a prayer said at the Roman Stations, over the people collected in the church from which the procession started.

Collectio post Communionem. The same as the Post Communion; the prayer said after the Communion.

Collectio post Precem. The collect said in the Gallican Liturgy before the Dismissal of the Catechumens.

Collectio post Prophetiam. The collect for the day, said after the Benedictus and before the Epistle, in the Gallican Liturgy.

Collectio post Nomina. The collect said after the names in the Diptychs have been read, in the Mozarabic Liturgy.

Commixture. The solemn mingling of the Consecrated Elements of Bread and Wine in the chalice.

Communio. An anthem sung during the communion of the people.

Competentes. The highest order of Catechumens.

Concelebration. The act by which two or more priests simultaneously consecrate the Eucharist.

Conditorium. (i.) A tomb. (ii.) A cupboard.

Confession. A place below the altar where the relics of saints are preserved.

Confirm. A word used in the "Ordines Romani" to signify the giving of the chalice to the communicants.

Confraction. (*Vide* Fraction.)

Confractorium. An anthem in the Ambrosian Liturgy, sung during the Fraction.

Consecration. A word used to denote not only the benediction by which the Elements are made the Body and Blood of Christ; but also the ritual mingling of the Consecrated Elements, or the Commixture.

Consignation. The signing of one-half of the Host with the other half, after it had been dipped in the Chalice.

Consummatio Missae (Gall.). The thanksgiving prayer at the end of the Mass, in the Gallican Liturgy.

Contestatio (Gall.). The name given to the Preface in the Gallican Liturgy.

Corban. An Arabic name for the holy Eucharist.

Corporal. A square of fine linen or silk on which the Blessed Sacrament is placed.

Credence. A small table beside the altar on which the sacred vessels were placed. In the East there were two Credence tables, one on either side of the altar; one for the sacred vestments, the altar vessels, and the mass books, in readiness for the Celebration; on the other the bread and wine were placed. The former was called the Diaconicon, and the latter the Prothesis.

D

Defensor. An officer in the Papal Court.

Diaconicon. (*Vide* Credence.)

Diaconium (churches). Churches in Rome attached to a hospital, in which the Deacon distributed alms.

Diptych. A list of the names of the living and departed commemorated in the Eucharist, written on two leaves or tablets.

Disc. The Greek word for the Paten.

Divine office. The daily offices contained in the Breviary.

"Dominica Vacat." The name given in the Leofric Missal to the Sundays in the Advent and Lent Ember weeks.

Dominicale. A square of white linen which the women held over their hands, and on which they received the Sacrament of the Lord's Body.

Doors. The "Holy Doors" in the centre of the Iconostasis, leading from the choir of the Church to the Sanctuary, and the smaller doors at the sides.

E

- Ectene.** The Litany which the deacon repeats in the Mass before the Anaphora.
- Elevation of the Host.** In the Western Liturgies at the Consecration and at the end of the Canon; in the Eastern Liturgies, at the "Sancta Sanctis!"
- Embolismus.** The extension of the last clause of the "Our Father," viz., "Deliver us from evil"; which is found in most Liturgies.
- Energumen.** A person under the influence of an evil spirit.
- Entrance.** (i.) *The Great Entrance.* The bringing in of the Elements by the Priest and Deacon. (ii.) *The Little Entrance.* The bringing in of the Book of the Gospels by the Deacon.
- Epiclesis.** The solemn Invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the Elements.
- Episcopal Benediction.** (*Vide* Benediction.)
- Eulogia.** Bread offered and blessed in the Eucharist, but not consecrated; and sent from one Bishop to another, as a token of charity.
- Exarch.** The Bishop next in rank to a Patriarch.
- Exedra.** A building distinct from the main body of the Church, yet within its bounds: e.g. a Baptistry.

F

- Farcing.** Matter intercalated into the *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Kyries* and other parts of the Liturgy.
- Fermentum.** A Host, which had been consecrated in a previous Mass, and used at the Commixture.
- Filiola** (Moz.). The Chalice Veil.
- Fraction.** The solemn breaking of the Consecrated Bread.

G

- Gradual.** An anthem sung between the Epistle and Gospel, on the steps of the ambo.
- Great Entrance.** (*Vide* Entrance.)
- Great Intercession.** (*Vide* Intercession.)

H

- Hearers.** (i.) Catechumens. (ii.) The second order of the Penitents.
- Homily.** A written sermon, usually read by the Deacon.
- Hostia.** The Consecrated Bread in the Eucharist, i.e., the Sacrifice.
- Hymn, Cherubic.** (*Vide* Cherubic.)

I

- Iconostasis.** The screen which, in Eastern churches, separates the choir from the sanctuary. The name is derived from the icons which were always painted on this screen.
- Illation** (Moz.). The name in the Mozarabic Liturgy for the Preface to the "Ter-Sanctus."
- Immolation** (Gall.). The name given to the Preface in the Gallican Liturgy.

In Coena Domini. Maundy Thursday.

Ingressa (Ambr.). The name in the Ambrosian Liturgy for the Introit.

Intercession, The Great. The solemn prayers offered for the living and the dead before or after the Great Oblation.

Intinction. The act of placing the consecrated Host in the chalice, in preparation for the communion of the people, to whom, in the Eastern Church, the consecrated elements are administered together, with a spoon.

Introit (Rom.). The anthem sung at the approach of the priest to the altar.

Invocation. (*Vide* Epiclesis.)

Ite, Missa Est (Rom.). The form of dismissal of the people in the Roman Liturgy.

K

Karazutha. The name given to the Ectene, or deacon's Litany, in the Eastern Syrian Liturgy.

Kiss of Peace. A mutual embrace during the Mass, by which the Faithful testified to the brotherly love that ought to exist among them.

Koinonicon (Greek). An anthem sung by the choir just before the Communion; corresponding to the Latin "Communio."

Kurshaka. A prayer following the Triumphal Hymn, in the Eastern Syrian Liturgy.

Kyrie. The shorter Litany; in some Liturgies it was often repeated during the Mass.

L

Laudes. Solemn prayers which were sung or chanted after the Gospel in Moz. Liturgy.

Lavabo. The ritual washing of the fingers of the priest before the Consecration.

Lectionary. A book containing the Lections.

Little Entrance. (*Vide* Entrance.)

Liturgy. (*Vide* Part I. pp. 1 and 2.)

M

Maronite. A Syrian tribe inhabiting the slopes of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. They were originally Monothelites, but were later on united to Rome, though allowed considerable freedom.

Matran. The name given in Eastern Syria to a Metropolitan, who has no suffragans.

Melchites. A name given to the orthodox Christians in the East, as distinguished from the Monophysites and Nestorians.

Missa. The word given in the West to the Eucharistic Service. It is also applied to the two main parts of the Liturgy, *viz.* Missa Catechumenorum, and Missa Fidelium.

Missa Catechumenorum. That part of the service at which Catechumens and Penitents might be present.

- Missæ Defunctorum.** A Mass said for the repose of the souls of the departed.
- Missæ Fidelium.** The latter part of the Mass at which only the Faithful might be present.
- Missæ Offertorium** (Moz.). The Lesser Missal, *i.e.*, the common of every Mass in the Mozarabic Liturgy.
- Missæ Praesantificatorum.** A Mass in which there is no Consecration, but Communion is made with the Consecrated Elements reserved from a previous day.
- Missæ pro Scrutinio.** A Mass during which the Catechumens, about to be baptised, are examined.
- Missæ Vespertina.** A late Mass which was celebrated on Fast-days.
- Missæ Votiva.** A Mass said out of special devotion, beyond the regular service of the day.
- Missæ.** The variable parts of the Mass: Collects, Prefaces, etc.
- Missal.** The book that contains all that is required for the Celebration of the Mass.
- Mixture.** The mingling of a little water with the wine in the chalice.
- Mutual Salutation.** (*Vide* Kiss of Peace.)

N

- Narthex.** The western part of the church to which the Catechumens and Penitents were admitted.

O

- Oblate.** The Host offered in the Mass, which is blessed but not consecrated.
- Offerenda** (Ambr.). The name for the Offertorium in the Ambrosian Missal.
- Offertorium.** The name of the verse sung while the elements are offered at the first oblation.
- Officium** (Moz.). The name for the Introit in the Mozarabic Liturgy.
- Oratio Missæ** (Moz.). The prayer, or short exhortation to the people, at the beginning of the Missæ Fidelium, corresponding to the *Praefatio* Missæ in the Gallican Liturgy.
- Oratio super Sindonem.** The prayer said at the spreading of the Corporal at the Offertory.
- Ordinary of the Mass.** That portion of the Mass which precedes the Canon.
- Osculatory.** A small tablet on which the figure of our Lord was engraved. It was used at the Pax when the personal salutation was discontinued. The priest first kissed it, and then the deacon, who passed it on to the people.
- Osculum Pacis.** (*Vide* Kiss of Peace.)

P

- Pain-béni.** Peculiar to the French church. The blessed bread which is blessed early in the Mass, and afterwards distributed to the people in their seats.

- Pall.** A veil of linen used to cover the chalice. It is now commonly stiffened with cardboard for convenience sake.
- Pallium.** A long scarf, originally of lamb's wool, marked with crosses. It is worn by archbishops over the chasuble, passing round the shoulders, and tied loosely on the left shoulder, its ends falling nearly to the ground back and front.
- Parochus.** A parish priest.
- Paten.** The plate on which the bread was offered and consecrated. In the early church the Patens were very large, as they were also used for receiving the offerings of the people.
- Pax.** (*Vide* Kiss of Peace.)
- Piscina.** A stone basin with a drain from it for the priest to wash his hands in before Mass, or to cleanse the sacred vessels in, after Mass.
- Pontifical.** A book containing the ceremonies pertaining to a bishop.
- Post clausum Paschae.** (*Vide* Ad Clausum Paschae.)
- Post Communio.** The collect said after the Communion of the people.
- Post Mysterium** (Gall.). A collect said after the words of Institution in the Gallican Liturgy, in many cases very like the Epiclesis of the Greek Church. It is the same as the Post Pridie of the Mozarabic, and the Post Secreta of the Gallican Liturgy.
- Post Nomina** (Moz.). The collect said in the Mozarabic Liturgy after the names in the Diptychs have been repeated.
- Post Pacem** (Gall.). The prayer said after the Pax in the Gallican Liturgy.
- Post Pridie.** (*Vide* Post Mysterium.)
- Post Sanctus** (Gall.). The prayer following the Sanctus in the Gallican Liturgy.
- Post Secreta.** (*Vide* Post Mysterium.)
- Praefatio Missæ.** A short exhortation to the people at the beginning of the *Missa Fidelium*. (*Vide* Oratio Missæ.)
- Praelegere** (Gall.). A name given to the Introit in the Gallican Liturgy, in the *Expositio Brevis* of St Germain of Paris.
- Preface.** (i.) It immediately follows the Sursum Corda, and leads up to the Ter Sanctus. (ii.) The Preface to the Lord's Prayer.
- Presanctified.** (*Vide* "Missa Presanctificatorium.")
- Presbytery.** The eastern end of the Sanctuary behind the altar, where the bishops and clergy sat in a semicircular row of seats.
- Pro-anaphora.** The first part of the Liturgy according to the Eastern use. It corresponds to the Ordo of the West.
- Proœmium** (Syrian). The prelude to the Sedra in the Eastern Syrian Liturgy.
- Prokeimenon.** A versicle and response sung before the Epistle in the Eastern Liturgies.
- Prophecy.** (i.) The lection from the Old Testament. (ii.) The name given to the Benedictus in the Gallican Liturgy.

Prothesis. (i.) The setting forth of the elements in the Eastern Liturgies. (ii.) The table at which the offerings were made.

Prose. Another name for the Sequence; generally composed in a rhythmical style, but not in metre, and used at Penitential seasons.

Protonotary. The chief notary, one of the officers of the papal court.

Psallendo (Moz.). An anthem sung between the Old Testament Lesson and the Epistle in the Mozarabic Liturgy.

Psallmellus (Ambr.). The same anthem in the Ambrosian Liturgy.

Q

Quadragesimale. The Lent season.

Quatuor Tempora. The four Ember seasons.

R

Regiæ. The gates of the Cancelli or screen which separates the Bema from the Solea.

Regiary Deacon. Ecclesiastical Rome was divided into seven districts or regions, over each of which a deacon was appointed to preside.

Responsorius (Gall.). The Response in the Gallican Liturgy following the Prophetical Lesson, corresponding to the Psallendo of the Mozarabic, and the Psalmellus of the Ambrosian Liturgy.

S

Sacramentary. The book containing all of the Mass said by the celebrant, *i.e.*, the Collects, Prefaces, and Canon.

Sacrificium (Moz.). The same as the Offertorium in the Roman Missal.

Sacristy. A room adjoining the church, in which the sacred ministers vested.

Sancta. Another name for the Fermentum.

Sancta Sanctis. The words used in all Eastern Liturgies and in some Gallican after the Consecration, when the Blessed Sacrament is elevated for the people to adore.

Sanctorale. That portion of the Sacramentary which contains the services for the Festivals of the Saints.

Scyphus. A chalice, so named in the Roman Ordinal, for communicating the people.

Secreta. A prayer, or prayers said "secreto" by the priest after the offertory.

Sedra (Syrian). A sort of Hymn, something like the Latin Prose in form, always preceded by the Proemium, and said at the Offertory or Prothesis.

Senatorium. The seats outside the Choir, reserved for the Senators and Roman Nobles in Basilican Churches.

Sequence. A hymn sung after the Gradual.

Sindon. (*Vide Corporal.*)

- Solea.** The space in a Roman Basilica between the Chancel screen and the Choir.
- Sonum** (Gall.). The anthem sung at the Offertory in the Gallican Liturgy, corresponding to the Roman Offertorium.
- Stations.** Solemn processions from one church to another, during which anthems and hymns were sung.
- Stational Church.** The church from which the Station started.
- Stationary Mass.** The Mass said at a church at which the station halted.
- Super Evangelium.** A prayer which follows the Gospel in the Stowe Missal.
- Super Oblata** (Ambr.). A prayer said after the Creed in the Ambrosian Liturgy.
- Super Populum.** A prayer said for the people at the end of the Mass.
- Super Sindonum** (Ambr.). A prayer said in the Ambrosian Rite when the Corporal or Sindon is spread upon the altar.
- Sursum Corda.** Said in all Liturgies.
- Symbol.** The Creed; an instruction given to Catechumens.
- Symbol.** Exposition before Baptism.
- Symbol.** Scrutiny of. (*Vide Missa pro Sc.*)
- Symbol.** Tradition of the. (*Vide Tradition.*)
- Synapte** (East.). The name given to the Deacon's Litany in the Greek Liturgy. (*Vide Ectene.*)
- Synaxis.** An assembly of the Faithful for worship.

T

- Temporale.** That portion of the Sacramentary which contains the special services for the Seasons.
- Ter-Sanctus.** The Hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy," etc., which precedes the Consecration, as is followed by the "Benedictus qui venit."
- Theotokos.** A name given to the Blessed Virgin, to signify that she is the Mother of Him who is both God and Man.
- Thurible.** A vessel in which incense is swung. A Censer.
- Titular Churches.** Churches in Rome to which the Stations were made. They answer to our Parish Churches.
- Tract.** The form of the Gradual used from Septuagesima to Easter Eve, consisting of two verses only, without Alleluia.
- Tradition of the Symbol.** A solemn instruction on the Creed given to Catechumens before Baptism, in Lent or Holy Week.
- Transitorium** (Ambr.). An anthem corresponding to the Roman "*Communio*," sung during the Communion of the people, in the Ambrosian Liturgy.
- Trecanum** (Gall.). The anthem sung during the Communion in the Gallican Liturgy.
- Tribune.** (*Vide Ambo.*)
- Trinity Sunday.** The name given to the Octave of Pentecost by Pope Alexander in the twelfth century.
- Trisagion** (East.). One of the four great hymns of the Eastern

Church, beginning "Holy God, Holy Almighty, Holy and Immortal." It is sung at the *Little Entrance*.

Triumphal Hymn. The same as the Ter-Sanctus.

Turgama (East.). A hortatory hymn sung in the Eastern Syrian Liturgies, between the Prophecy and the Epistle.

U

Uniat. A community which, while retaining, with some modifications, its own rites and customs, has submitted to the Roman See, and accepted her dogmas.

V

Veil. Prayer of the. A prayer said at the beginning of the Canon, when the curtains were drawn round the altar.

Veils. (i.) The cloths, whether of linen or of richer material, used to cover the Holy Vessels. (ii.) The curtains hung round the altar.

Vice Dominus. A steward or bailiff.

Z

Zumara (Syr.). Verses or Psalm sung in the Eastern Syrian Liturgy between the Epistle and Gospel, corresponding to the Gradual of the Roman, and the Prokeimenon of the Greek Liturgy.

CORRIGENDA.

On page 86, line 17, *delete* "Medium."

On page 192, line 9, *for* "made" *read* "makes."

On title-page of Part II., *for* "TEACHERS" *read* "TEACHING."

On page 165, line 20, *for* "Mass" *read* "service."

On page 168, section V., *for* "perpetuated" *read* "contained."

On page 187 note, *for* "Appolinarian" *read* "Apollinarian."

On page 209, line 10, *for* "Psallmellus" *read* "Psalmellus."

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